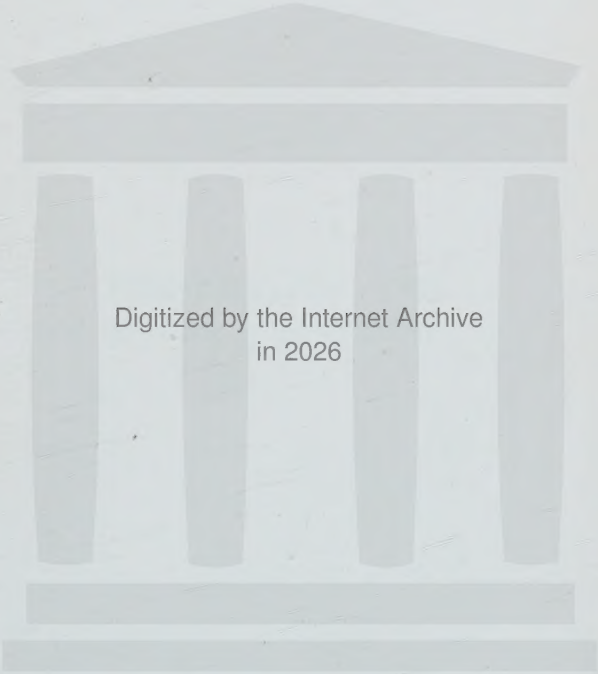
PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

ERNEST R. GROVES

THE
SANDFORD FLEMING
LIBRARY

Gift of
Dr. Sandford Fleming


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/personalitysocia0000erne_j3n8

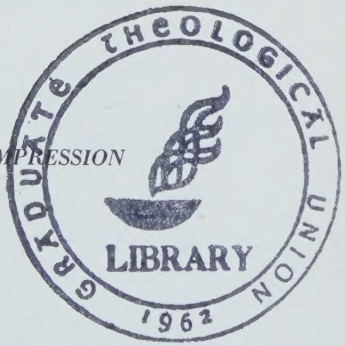
PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

By

ERNEST R. GROVES

Professor of Sociology at Boston University
Author of The Rural Mind and Social Welfare



FOURTH IMPRESSION

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
TORONTO, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, AND MADRAS
1925

M
16
7
925

COPYRIGHT, 1923, BY
LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

First Edition, October, 1923
Reprinted, March, 1924
Third Impression with Additions to Supplementary Readings, August, 1924. Reprinted, May, 1925

Made in the United States.

BERKELEY BAPTIST DIVINITY SCHOOL
SANDFORD FLEMING LIBRARY

TO MY MOTHER

33882

PREFACE

This book is written for those who have to do with people, especially with children. It brings to parents and teachers information of value regarding social conduct. Recent sciences that treat human behavior have been making great progress in the understanding of human nature. This is fortunate because we need all the help science can give in dealing with behavior problems, since society is constantly becoming more complicated, and wholesome social conduct increasingly difficult.

At a time when any science is advancing rapidly, it is particularly hard to make a systematic application of its findings, because they are continually being changed. This is the case just now in the field of social science. If one waits for a settlement of all the matters in dispute, little use can be made of an important gathering of information. Although the new understanding of human conduct has barely begun, enough has already been accomplished to blaze a trail which parents and teachers can profitably follow in their guidance of children. This book attempts to make the trail more usable by combining short, disconnected trails, clearing away confusing undergrowth, plainly designating impassable by-paths, and giving full directions for steady progress, with the least possible *impedimenta*. Supplementary readings have been provided for the reader who wishes to explore for himself, in the rapidly developing science of conduct. These references have been chosen as those most likely to be available and helpful to the student, and not for the purpose of making a formidable list. For the most part, the citations are recent, the exceptions being works of unusual value.

The book is a product of considerable experience in working out conduct problems of a social character amongst those who are catalogued as normal. These problems have strikingly centered about the home life, and have illustrated the principles of behavior emphasized by recent science. It has been impossible for the most part to make use of this material concretely because, even if names were withheld, the recording of these consultations would appear to the persons involved, a breaking of confidence. I here express my appreciation to these former students and friends of mine who have made it possible for me to get an insight into the social difficulties of wholesome, thoughtful people. I wish to thank Dr. Frankwood E. Williams for permission to use illustrative material from Mental Hygiene, and Dr. William A. White for the same permission with reference to The Psychoanalytic Review. As in all my undertakings, I am especially indebted to my wife, Gladys H. Groves.

E. R. G.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The New Understanding of Conduct	1
II.	Impulse and Social Control	21
III.	The Instincts and the Complex	36
IV.	Habit and Social Continuity	49
V.	Emotional Basis of Social Conflict	63
VI.	The Social Significance of Fear	81
VII.	The Social Significance of Anger	102
VIII.	The Social Significance of Sex	118
IX.	The Social Significance of Gregariousness	132
X.	The Instinct of Self-assertion	151
XI.	The Social Significance of Self-assertion	164
XII.	Self-assertion and Family Life	176
XIII.	The Emotional Maturing of the Boy	191
XIV.	The Emotional Maturing of the Girl	204
XV.	The Inferiority Complex and Social Behavior	218
XVI.	Phantasy and Social Rationalization	231
XVII.	Authority and Individuality	250
XVIII.	Abnormality and Social Conduct	272
	Index	293

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

CHAPTER I

The New Understanding of Conduct

Science began with man's effort to understand and control nature. In the modern era the advantages of the scientific method of dealing with the material world became obvious to all. Man's physical security, comforts and pleasures increased as science advanced. The success of science in gratifying man's material interests led naturally to the scientific study of man himself. Surely the happiness of man depends as much upon understanding and controlling human nature as upon the conquest of the physical world. The scientific method, so successful in the investigation of the world of matter, was taken over into man's own realm. Different aspects of human nature were studied in the spirit of science. In this way the various social sciences originated. Recent progress in these sciences has made possible a better knowledge of human action, a new understanding of conduct.

Interest in human conduct is universal. Our happiness in life largely depends upon our having pleasant associations with the people about us. The history of each day is for the most part the result of our many contacts with our family, friends, neighbors and fellow-workers. It is therefore of the greatest importance to us personally that we have pleasant associations with those in whose company the day places us and this requires of us, as we soon learn from experience, that we try to understand our companions.

The teacher is particularly interested in human behavior, not merely because conduct is directly related to problems of school discipline, but because he needs a sound basis for

the teaching process itself. The learning of the child is conditioned upon motives and habits and attitudes that are understandable only when viewed as modes of behavior. The function of the school socially is to influence the conduct of those who are soon to be citizens, responsible for public welfare. It is for this purpose of producing good citizenship that the schools are supported by public taxation. The efficiency of education is popularly and rightly estimated by its practical influence upon the everyday conduct of those trained in our schools.

This social function of our schools is beginning to receive the attention its importance justifies. Education as a personal luxury or as a means of obtaining purely individual satisfaction is indefensible in a democratic society such as ours, and educators everywhere are estimating the success of our schools and colleges by their ability to turn out graduates who perform public service. If education means the development of conduct that is socially efficient and wholesome it behooves teachers to use to the utmost whatever help there is available for those who try to understand conduct.

When the child for the first time walks into the schoolhouse he has already commenced his education. The child's earliest experiences, built upon instincts, are even in the cradle given direction by the parents who desire to have him conform to the social situation of the adult world. Thus our biological inheritance as soon as it begins its expression comes in contact with social compulsion. The child brings something into the world. The world presents something to the child. This social accumulation which the child finds about him is the product of human experiences, both good and bad, both useful and harmful. From the beginning of his career this mass of ideas and habits and values operating through parents and guardians influences

the child. Recent science shows us that these earliest contacts are most important because of their persistent influence upon personality. They give the foundation-support to the later character and in some cases at least persist in acting contrary to the conscious purposes of the matured individual. It is clear as a result of this recent knowledge concerning the importance of early childhood that much of the difficulty that the schools have in educating for social efficiency is due to these first experiences.

Education, therefore, must include good preparation for parenthood. As so many thoughtful men and women realize, parents need all the help they can get from science, that they may meet successfully their obligations to their children. As the science of conduct develops, more emphasis will be placed on the work of parents.

It is fortunate that parents everywhere are looking for help. They do not need persuasion. Those who attempt to maintain good homes usually appreciate their difficulties very keenly. They demand concrete, specific, clear assistance. It is just this that the new psychology and sociology are prepared to give, and are already giving. Preachment has given way to interpretation and instruction. Parents are given an adequate understanding of their part in the well-being of the child. The first emphasis was naturally upon the physical health of the child. It led to movements such as that of baby hygiene, and the saving of babies from death, physical suffering and disease. Now parents are seeking the same kind of practical help for the mental and social welfare of their children. The mental hygiene movement has been one of the good results of the recent progress in the sciences that minister to social welfare. No movement built upon applied science has ever had a more rapid development; no social welfare program has ever won the approval of serious-minded people more enthu-

siastically than has that represented in mental hygiene. There is great need of the practical assistance that psychiatry, psychology and sociology are prepared to give. Thinking people are also conscious of this need and most eager to support any organized effort to conserve mental and social life by wise education. The mental hygiene program is built upon the idea that the directing influences that modify conduct, from their first expression in infancy, must be made as reasonable as possible and made to harmonize with the known facts of human behavior.

Since the beginning of society people have been interested just as we are in getting at the meaning of conduct. We, however, have in these days an advantage over our predecessors. We have science to help us, for at last science has seriously grappled with the mystery of human conduct and gradually it is accumulating knowledge that explains the causes that impel people to act as they do.

It would be contrary to fact to assume that nothing has been known about human conduct until now. Shrewd observers always have been able to interpret human motives. Literature has gathered a great quantity of information regarding behavior. History itself has been almost entirely a record of conduct, although it has concerned itself too exclusively with the doings of officials, kings and the outstanding characters.

In the past the difficulty that has made impossible a science of human behavior has been the lack of real knowledge regarding conduct. There has been enough recording of experience. Theories concerning behavior also we have had in great quantity. They have, however, represented for the most part mere opinion; and their subjective character, due to their birth in the prejudices of the theorist, has made them worse than useless for the practical understanding of the behavior of people. Philosophy, of course,

has done its best to fill the scientific void, but, having no substantial foundation of factual knowledge, it has left the seeker for practical information regarding the why of conduct disappointed in his quest.

Phrenology, as it was known to our fathers, was a premature attempt to build up a science of conduct without an adequate collection of facts. Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828), its founder, a student of anatomy and physiology, early formulated the idea that only by an analysis of the behavior of the individual could there be any science of conduct. Unfortunately his theories out-traveled the neurological knowledge of his day and he popularized the erroneous belief that the talents and dispositions of men were dependent upon the brain structure in a way that made it possible for a skillful person to deduce a man's abilities and characteristics by an examination of the external surface of the skull. This belief led to controversy and finally to a clearer understanding of the nature of the brain. Thus, in stimulating a careful study of the brain, phrenology indirectly led to some important neurological discoveries. Gall also suggested that there was a correspondence between the instinctive life of the higher animals and some of the characteristic types of human behavior. The significance of this relationship was never appreciated until in our own time the behavioristic psychology from a study of animal behavior revealed that Gall, had he but known it, might have staked out his claim to the discovery of what has proven to be a veritable mine of wealth for the psychologist. It was distinctly of advantage to those interested in the development of a science of conduct that the followers of phrenology had to be disproven, for in the process of establishing truth, important discoveries were made. It is unfortunate, however, that phrenology still lingers and in a modified form is

still taken seriously by some who are not familiar with the teaching of psychological science. We still have some among us who attempt to interpret disposition and ability from head and body form, and occasionally even the hard-headed practical business man tries to make use of the system in choosing and discharging employees.

Many people still cling to the belief that there are other physical indications of disposition and capacity besides the surface of the skull. For example, there are those who, like Tristram Shandy's father, think that the shape of the nose decides one's destiny. How common is the belief, even though there are no facts to support it, that a square jaw indicates a pugnacious disposition. The opinion that a small chin demonstrates weakness of will is equally widespread and this mistaken judgment seriously handicaps the career of those who are so unfortunate as to be born with inconspicuous chins; and yet, in spite of this handicap, there is no evidence that they are actually less successful than their associates who are the proud possessors of massive chins. These interpretations of physiognomy are entirely social in origin and have for their support mere prejudice and tradition.

Palmistry is an interesting and curious illustration of an unscientific method of judging character. For perhaps five thousand years this purely superstitious interpretation of the meaning of lines upon the palm of the hand has been used to estimate character and to foretell destiny. Both the hand and the skin have a meaning for the anatomist and the physician and thus aid at times in the diagnosis of conduct, when it is due to some pathological condition. There is no evidence whatever of any relationship between the lines on the hand and personal characteristics. This persistent interest in palmistry in spite of its lack of scientific support bears testimony to the wide-

spread and ancient desire of people to find some method of understanding individual behavior and to prophesy coming events.

Of course it is true that we can often learn something of our associates' social experience from such personal characteristics as the hands or clothes or movements, as, for example, walking. The hands may indicate something regarding the general nature of the vocation. The clothes give us some clue to the personal habits and, we often assume, also to the financial situation. The movements often betray temperament and early behavior. If we checked up our judgments based upon these characteristics by the results of later experience we would have to admit, however, that these outward circumstances frequently deceive us regarding even the superficial facts concerning those whom we analyze. They are never safe guides with respect to the deeper levels of personality, and any attempt to make much of them will surely lead to costly mistakes of judgment.

It has been the habit of people, even of savage people, to catalog human behavior under maxims, fables and proverbs. These general statements tell us much about principles and motives of behavior but they do not help us in understanding any individual problem of conduct. They merely standardize similar activities in group concepts and when we apply them to a concrete situation we are as uncertain as ever whether a definite individual act belongs under one or another of the various principles. To discuss this it is necessary for us to analyze the individual himself and this we can do with no greater ease because of the collection of maxims and proverbs. There is no royal road to character analysis. In any effort to understand people there is no escape from the slow, cautious and uncertain method of diagnosis. Conduct diagnosis

issues into an attempt to use such knowledge as we now have regarding behavior so as to get the clearest and most accurate idea possible of the social experience of the individual, and the greater our fund of scientific knowledge, the more frequently our judgment of character will be correct.

The task of collecting valuable information regarding human behavior has not belonged to any single science. Science as a whole has contributed to the increasing accumulation of knowledge. The largest contributions, however, have come from biology, physiology, psychology, psychiatry and sociology. Material of great usefulness to those who seek to understand people has been gathered also by history, literature and especially by anthropology. Our present knowledge of behavior is therefore a result of a scientific pooling of facts. We could have made no progress at all in the undertaking without the coöperation of workers in the various related fields of investigation.

Biology has enormously contributed to our knowledge of human behavior. It has helped in many different ways, but perhaps it has helped most in the construction of a science of behavior by its insistence upon the right viewpoint in regard to conduct. Biologically we act to accomplish adjustment to environment. A person's behavior therefore is his effort to accomplish purposes. Good activity is tested by its efficiency. The social test of conduct is the same as that which zoölogical science has formulated and insisted upon. Are the acts of the person such as to produce favorable adjustment to the present, actual circumstances? If so, the activities are socially efficient. If not, they are socially faulty and unsuccessful. Zoölogy has taught us to regard the entire personality, or organism in scientific terminology, including both mind and body, as

an adjusting mechanism. It is more complicated than the most remarkable machine. It has also what a machine cannot have—a flexibility that comes from consciousness. Its primary purpose, nevertheless, is the making of favorable adjustments by acting upon the environment. This is as true of the mind as of the body. That the body acts as an adjusting mechanism is generally recognized. Biological science has forced us to see that mind also is an adjusting mechanism. Indeed the body adjustments themselves are essentially nervous in origin and are closely related to the mental life. From biology therefore we get the meaning and the test of conduct. Its meaning is adjustment. Its test is the efficiency of the adjustments made.

Modern physiology has been and is of the greatest importance in the development of the science of behavior. New knowledge regarding the body has thrown unexpected light upon human personality, especially upon the emotions. A sound mind in a sound body has come to have a deeper and more exact meaning. The intimacy between body states and behavior is so great that no dividing line can be drawn between them in the analysis of definite conduct problems. The food we eat, the exercise we take or do not take, the sleep we have, these things do not register their effects merely upon the body. In influencing the body life these physical conditions also affect the mind and behavior. Recently physiology has discovered in the ductless glands of the body unexpected and tremendously important physical causes that operate upon both the physical and the psychic states of the individual.[1] We are told for example that the influence of the increased or decreased secretions of the thyroid or adrenal bodies upon the individual may be great enough to prevent a brain structurally as good as Shakespeare's from functioning beyond the effi-

(1) May, J. V., Mental Diseases, Part 1, ch. 12.

ciency of a person with average mental equipment.[2] Experiments have demonstrated that the influence of adrenalin, the secretion of the adrenal glands, upon the blood has an extraordinary effect upon the emotions. These in turn have a compelling influence over conduct.

All this knowledge obtained through recent study of the endocrine organs has made it still more evident that we cannot separate mind from body in the practical problems of conduct. We are certainly only at the beginning of what promises to yield as important knowledge as science has ever gathered regarding the physical states and their relation to human behavior. The present emphasis upon this recent advance of physiological science must not hide the fact that in the largest sense it is the entire body with all its various organs that conditions behavior. Consciousness registers the general body situation and is sensitive to any kind of body disturbance or abnormality. Nothing so quickly changes behavior as does physical disease. Illness forces us to recognize that the mechanism of behavior is built upon body tissues.

To psychology and psychiatry, most of all the sciences, belongs credit for our present insight into human behavior. Psychology, working along many lines, and psychiatry, necessarily engaged in attempts to solve all sorts of individual character problems, have accumulated the material of greatest value in the interpretation of human behavior.

Both sciences have given themselves to the study of concrete material and increasingly have dealt with practical problems of personal adjustment. In every field of human behavior, business, art, politics, teaching and the rest, the commanding importance of psychological and psychiatric

(2) Paton, S., Human Behavior, p. 91.

investigations is being recognized. Goods are bought and sold by psychological methods. A political campaign is now largely a psychological struggle between rival parties. Even war has become an enterprise that has to enlist the psychologists. The Great War not only made use of psychological principles; it was in large measure a psychological contest. Morale, a psychological product, came to be the deciding element in the contest.

Indeed wherever the influence of modern thought permeates, in every line of endeavor, there one finds the people concerned with practical responsibilities deeply interested in psychology. Never before have men busy with everyday affairs taken so great an interest in any science as that which they are now manifesting in psychology. The popularity of the study is due to the value it has for those who deal with people. Recent psychology has been tested by experience, and the successful man of business and affairs is the most outspoken in his appreciation of the advantage there is in having a scientific interpretation of mental behavior.

Psychiatry started as the science of mental disorders. Its development has been rapid of late and it has already in this present century contributed a vast amount of information of great value regarding human conduct. This material which has resulted from the remarkable progress of the science has produced revolutionary changes in the interpretation and treatment of mental abnormalities. The line of demarcation between normal and abnormal conduct which once was so clearly and rigidly drawn has faded. In practical experience it has been found difficult to understand mental disorders unless they are regarded as products of disease or the final expression of earlier hurtful experiences or habits or as the culmination of both the physical condition and the childhood experiences.

Thus in actual practice mental abnormality has been found to be the natural outcome of behavior which in its beginning appeared perfectly normal although socially unwise. The treatment and cure of mental disorders has also required the recognition of this causal relationship between earlier habits and later mental disturbances. The process of cure has largely consisted in a re-education of the patient, a reconstruction of the life in harmony with the principles of mental hygiene.

In dealing with mental cases in this modern manner psychiatry necessarily gives more and more attention to the motives and conduct of children from the point of view of their influence upon adult behavior and happiness. This concentration upon childhood as the original source of much of the mental suffering in later life has disclosed a great quantity of facts that concern conduct, facts hitherto unknown or neglected. The field of psychiatric service has been greatly extended. The outcropping of the emotional life has been found in most unexpected places. Criminal behavior, criminal cravings, incompatibilities between members of the same household, industrial unrest, inefficiency in business, unhappiness and a great many more forms of maladjustment to life have been found psychiatric in origin.

Sociology is the science that assumes the task of interpreting group experiences. It is also the science that especially attempts to further social progress. During the last decade sociology has turned its attention from its earlier theoretical discussions and seriously has undertaken the collection and explanation of evidence collected from all possible quarters that reveals the group behavior of human nature. Sociology has profited more than any other science by the wealth of material recently gathered in the allied fields of biology, physiology, psychology and psychiatry.

It has in turn influenced other sciences by putting constant stress upon the advancement of human welfare as the only proper motive for scientific research.

Sociology has found from experience that it can make no headway either as a science or as a division of social service unless it has a better understanding of human conduct. Thus it has been forced to dig down into individual conduct in its search for explanation of the social experiences of men and women. In recent years it has drawn heavily upon psychology and psychiatry. Indeed all three sciences handle in large measure the very same material but with differing viewpoints and purposes.

The coöperative and supplementary relationship between sociology and psychology appears as soon as one attempts a diagnosis of behavior, whether the diagnosis proceeds from the social to the psychic, or from the psychic to the social. Whatever we wish to understand must be brought into contact with the rest of the individual's life. This is constantly illustrated in school teaching. We cannot say, for example, because of our experience with two pupils in our class that William has a good memory and Frank a poor one. Investigation usually shows that each has a good memory for things that he likes; each has a wretched memory for what he dislikes. Everyone is likely to have a vivid imagination for things that delight his soul; no imagination at all for the things that distress him, unless he is overcome by fears and obsessions. In the latter case his imagination, as a result of his pathological condition, may work just contrary to his natural inclination. We say that John Smith has good attention. Well, perhaps usually he has, but not always. Suppose we watch him. Do we not quickly discover that his attention is closely tied to his interests, that it is sensitive to his unpleasant reactions, that it is most concentrated with reference to his immediate

desires? The moment we drive his attention outside his circle of interests, even though the new interests are derived from more vigorous, personal wants, it begins to falter and prove uncertain.

It is especially important that we keep in mind the importance of the child's emotional life whenever we try to test his mentality. It is natural for us to attempt to find a measuring rod by which we can standardize human beings with the same exactness with which we measure cloth with a yardstick. Unfortunately for our undertaking, however, the nature of the material we are handling forbids the degree of certainty and exactness in psychic measurements that we easily obtain in dealing with material things. It is in the emotional life of the individual that we find the greatest obstacles to precision in tests of mentality. The recognition of this fact does not destroy the value of tests but it does disclose their limitation and difficulty. Every sort of test must be used reasonably to be used safely. In our zeal for standardization we must not discount the emotional reactions of the child tested. To conceive of the individual as static, to ignore the personality and the emotional attitudes that influence alertness, ends in classifications that are deceptive for the educator and unfair to the pupil.

The disturbing influence of the emotions upon the measurement of intelligence was illustrated by Dr. S. P. Jarrett and Dr. Phyllis Blanchard in a recent article.

"*Case I.* First admission, hospital number 38630. L. M. Male, white, 18. Admitted to Bellevue Hospital for observation August 21, 1918. History of school retardation and long history of juvenile delinquency. Charge pending at time of admission. Was confused and deluded, hallucinating, etc. Would not cooperate on tests, so that no psychological examination was made at this time. Exact diagnosis difficult; mixed phase, manic-

depressive psychosis or dementia præcox, undecided. He was returned to the Tombs and sent to Matteawan. (Diagnosed as dementia præcox at Matteawan, but subsequent history showed that he was suffering from a manic-depressive attack.)

Second admission, hospital number 42969, June 27, 1919. Had been released from Matteawan on a writ of *habeas corpus*. At this time there was little to indicate a psychosis. Patient's behavior on the ward was normal; he helped with the work, etc. There were no gross defects of memory, orientation was good, no delusions or hallucinations, although there was not full insight into his previous attack. Patient was, however, coöperative in every way. Stanford-Binet showed a mental age of 11-3, I. Q. 70. The summary of the psychological examination read as follows: 'The evidence of mental tests is that this patient is on the border line of mental deficiency. He is of very inferior intelligence, yet he is of higher status than the inmates of institutions for the feeble-minded usually are. He might be described as semi-irresponsible, his mental level being between 11 and 12 years. . . . . Attitude docile and friendly throughout. No eccentricities of manner noted. Nothing bizarre in his responses.'

Third admission, hospital number 44143. Had been released from Matteawan on a writ of *habeas corpus*. His conduct was normal on the ward, etc., and he now had full insight into his previous illness. A second psychological examination showed a mental age of 16+, I. Q. 100+. At this time he was returned to court with the opinion that he had recovered from an attack of manic-depressive psychosis, and was liberated as not insane.

The significance of this case lies in the fact that experienced medical men and trained psychological examiners recognized no affective reactions in the patient of sufficient importance to suggest any doubt as to the accuracy of the results obtained upon the first psychological examination. There was only one slight difference in the clinical pictures at the time of the first and second examinations: at the time of the first test, the patient, although otherwise apparently normal in attitude, had not recovered full insight into his

condition, while at the time of the second test, he had complete insight into his previous illness. This case is not an isolated one in our experience. It is obvious therefore that the results of intelligence tests made after a psychotic attack can not be regarded as final until there is absolute certainty that the psychosis has completely cleared, and the intellectual faculties are freed for their full functioning. Not only is this true of such marked psychotic affections as that in the case reported above, but it also holds good in milder psychotic states, as the following cases demonstrate.''[1]

As it is in the tests we give the child, so it is with every requirement we make of him. Educationally we must concern ourselves with the emotional attitudes of the child in their relation to school requirements as much as the school situation permits. Our ignoring of the emotional reactions of the child, at times due to the size of our classes, at times to our eagerness to accomplish the definite objective demands placed upon us by ''the system,'' sometimes from lack of skill or concern, explains many of our failures in school instruction. Instruction to be thoroughly effective must be winsome. It must recognize that the school teacher has competition from other persons who also try to captivate the child's attention. We can no more ignore in our school practice the child's emotional responses than industry can ignore those of the adult. If this makes teaching more difficult, it also makes it more fascinating. If it limits the teaching process, it also gives successful teaching all the more influence over the child, influence that is paramount because it is embedded in the instincts of the child himself.

(1) Influence of Affective Disturbances on Responses to the Stanford-Binet Test, Mental Hygiene, pp. 41-42, Jan., 1922. See also Bronner, A. F., Attitude as it Affects the Performance of Tests, Psychological Review, Vol. 23, pp. 301-31, July, 1916.

In the way that psychiatry has found it necessary to study the social history of the patient through what is known as its social service, so education, if it is to accomplish what the public reasonably expects of it, must realize the importance of the social experience of the child. The child cannot be treated as a merely psychological product. The psychological tests by themselves frequently are not a solution but merely the statement of a problem. The physical condition may explain the poor work or the low rating. On the other hand the causes of the unsatisfactory progress of the child may be primarily or even entirely sociological. Home disturbances, intense emotional reactions of fear, shame or confusion, sex shock, feelings of personal grudge, and the like, affect profoundly the intellectual operations of every human being and especially of the child. Surely a condition that will impel a child into crime, as Dr. William Healy[1] has demonstrated from his study of hundreds of cases, will more frequently in milder experiences draw the child's attention away from school work.

The teacher's occupation will necessarily become more and more concerned with social diagnosis. The aims of instruction will become increasingly social. The teacher can no longer, especially in the lower grades, be merely expert in the handling of subject-matter. The need of putting into use through the schools such science of conduct as we now have will be stressed as the unfortunate effects of not doing this become more apparent with the progress of mental hygiene. The interest of the teacher in the science of conduct, already great, is bound therefore to increase. It will become an educational axiom that efficiency in instruction requires skill in the use of the

(1) Healy, W., Individual Delinquent.

principles of conduct. As a result the profession of teaching will gain in public recognition, for it will become more generally appreciated that teaching is a complex process that requires for wholesome social results skill in individual diagnosis A good teacher does not merely know things. He also knows people. It is imperative that he should know people since his task is socially the most important and his success depends upon his ability to deal wisely with human nature in the process of socialization.

Topics for Discussion

1. How do you explain the lingering belief in phrenology?
2. What are the advantages of consciousness in the adjusting of life to environment? What are the disadvantages?
3. How can the study of the science of conduct benefit the business man? the doctor? the clergyman? the parent? the teacher?
4. What are the influences that have led to the rapid advancement of psychiatry in the last decade?
5. What is the relation between the recent progress in psychology and psychiatry and the Mental Hygiene Movement?
6. Is mental hygiene influencing educational practices?
7. How would you define the difference between psychology and sociology?
8. To what extent do the emotions control attention?
9. What are the chief emotional disturbances of school children?
10. How would you detect unfavorable emotional attitudes when testing children?
11. What illustrations can you give of the teacher's need of skill in social diagnosis?

Topics for Reports

1. The history and influence of phrenology.
2. Cerebral localization of mental processes.
3. The influence of the thyroid gland upon body and mind.

4. The influence of the adrenal glands upon body and mind.
5. William Butler's criticism of unbiological education in "The Way of All Flesh."
6. Recent developments in the science of psychiatry.
7. The Mental Hygiene Movement in the United States.
8. The work of the psychiatrist in the Great War.
9. William James, the American pioneer in the study of conduct.
10. The evolution of the science of conduct.
11. Emotional disturbances and juvenile delinquency.
12. Emotional elements in the teaching process.
13. The social function of public education.

Supplementary Readings

Barnes, H. E., *Psychology and History,* American Journal of Psychology, Vol. 30, pp. 337-76.

Barnes, H. E., *Some Reflections on the Possible Service of Analytic Psychology to History,* Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 8, pp. 22-37, Jan., 1921.

Edman, I., *Human Traits and Their Social Significance, ch. 1,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920.

Hartman, D. A., *Psychological Point of View in History: Some Phases of the Slavery Struggle,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 17, pp. 261-73, Oct., 1922.

Humphrey, G., *The Story of Man's Mind,* Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, 1923.

Kempf, E. J., *Psychopathology, ch. 1,* C. V. Mosby Co., St. Louis, 1920.

McDougall, W., *An Introduction to Social Psychology, ch. 1,* Luce & Co., Boston, 1918.

Miller, H. C., *Psychoanalysis and the School,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 7, pp. 32-42, Jan., 1923.

Morrison, A. W., *Mental Hygiene and Our Universities,* Mental Hygiene, April, 1923.

Myerson, A., *The Foundations of Personality, chs. 1, 2,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1921.

Paton, S., *Human Behavior, chs. 1, 2,* Scribner's, New York, 1921.

Sands, I. J., and Blanchard, P., *Abnormal Behavior, ch. 1,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1923.

Shand, A. F., *The Foundations of Character, pp. 1-81.* Macmillan, London, 1914.

Williams, F. E., *Mental Hygiene and the College Student,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 5, pp. 283-301, April, 1921.

Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology, chs. 1, 2,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924.

Brierley, Susan, *An Introduction to Psychology,* Methuen, London, 1923.

Wells, F. L., *Pleasure and Behavior, ch. 1,* Appleton, New York, 1924.

Jung, C. G. (tr. Baynes, H. C.), *Psychological Types, or the Psychology of Individuation,* Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York and London, 1923.

Hoskins, R. G., *The Functions of the Endocrine Organs,* Scientific Monthly, Vol. 18, pp. 257-72, March, 1924.

CHAPTER II

Impulse and Social Control

If by human behavior is meant the attempt to adjust the life of an individual to his environmental conditions, the impulse must be thought of as the simplest and basic element in the process. Impulse is both an inherited mechanism which enables the individual to respond to a given stimulus in a definite, unlearned manner of behavior and also an impelling force that leads to the fixed response to the exciting stimulation. Thus impulse has two sides. It is activity. It is also desire. The impulse determines the manner of behavior. It also furnishes the impetus that leads us to attempt the adjustment of our life to our environment. Impulse with its dual character represents our inborn equipment for life and is of course fundamental in behavior.

Our impulses which start and direct behavior constitute the most ancient function of our nervous system. The impetus to act is older and deeper than thinking. Thinking came when the nervous mechanism had become very complex and the various forms of the instinctive drive required co-ordination. Thinking therefore originated as a means of making behavior more successful in its efforts at adjustment, and it is this fact which has led biology to regard thinking as a mode of behavior.

The simplest type of response to environmental influence is the reflex. The reflex belongs to all life that has a nervous system and is of course usually advantageous to the reacting individual. The tendency of the eyelid to close whenever an object draws near the eye is a good example

of a reflex, and also of the fact that the function of the reflex is generally useful to the organism. It is difficult to distinguish the reflex from the more complicated impulse which we call the instinct. The reflex is very simple as compared with the instinct, and much less flexible. The instinct may best be pictured as a chain of successive reflex acts. Instinctive acts are of a higher level than the reflex in the sense that they are nearer conscious purpose and more amenable to control than the reflex.

Any effort to understand the process of social control must start the analysis upon the lowest level of response, the reflex.

The earliest form of social control appears in what is known as the conditioned reflex. Pavlov, a great Russian physiologist, studied the secretion of the salivary gland in the dog as affected by different stimuli. He found, for example, by feeding a dog meat and at the same time ringing a bell, that after a time the ringing of the bell alone would produce the same flow of saliva as that ordinarily following the stimulus of the meat. The two stimuli had become so related together that the sound of the bell had the same influence upon the reflex mechanism as the physical presence of the meat. This kind of reaction is known as a conditioned reflex. The associated stimulus may, however, have an inhibitory relation to the stimulus with which it is brought into habitual association and in this way a process of control is originated.

Examples of inhibitory reflexes are common in animal training. It is, for instance, no unusual thing to find a dog trained not to eat food when placed in certain circumstances. The well-trained dog, as some of us know from personal experience, can be taught to rest his nose beside food on the table and not touch it until it has been put down upon the floor. It is, however, with respect to the

child that we see the importance of inhibitory reflex control. The training carried on by parents in the first years of childhood is largely an attempt to build up conditioned reflexes.

The most important reflexes gather about the personality of the mother, and a large part of the physical comfort of the child is associated with the mother's attitude and activities to the extent of constructing a quantity of conditioned reflex experiences. The infant of a few weeks finds that the coming of his mother is followed by the satisfaction of his hunger. When a few months older he appreciates his mother's putting him in bed when he is tired. Then the presence of the mother in itself satisfies and rests the fretful or excited child. In such cases the mother becomes the exciting cause of the reflex mechanism and she is able to start or check lines of activities that otherwise would be automatic reflexes. The child is given further conditioning of his reflex life by his playmates in group games and social contact. The little swagger or babyish lisp that passes unnoticed or even draws forth affectionate comment within the family circle receives far different attention from a youngster's slightly older playmates and neighbors. The derision he meets may make him reserve his swagger for use among his juniors, and attempt to conceal or master the lisp. This conditioning of reflexes by his playmates occurs early, long before the school period, and when the child begins his school career he has already a large number of conditioned reflexes. The school receives him, therefore, already modified in his reflex behavior, and to a degree at least brought under social coercion.

School instruction is largely an effort to develop useful conditioned reflexes. In practical experience this means at times destroying reflexes already developed and construct-

ing other, more favorable responses. Inhibition from the beginning plays a considerable role in school training. Through his school experience the child is taught the advantage of acting in accord with school custom and in this way the foundation is laid for the coercion that civilization exercises on every sane individual.

As a process of inhibition and social control education necessarily assumes risks. The repression placed upon the child may become a burden and crush his emotional life. The child, especially if naturally timid, may react excessively to criticism until a systematic and persistent lack of confidence follows. In such circumstances the timidity and sensitiveness limit aggressive behavior and make it impossible for the child to disclose his full mental capacity. If this results in more school difficulty, the child suffers additional pain and greater lack of confidence. It often ends in such children growing up to be adults who go through life seriously handicapped by these experiences that have affected them after the manner of a simple conditioned reflex. What the psychiatrist means by re-education when he treats such cases of harmful repressions is getting the patient to go back through memory and rehearse his experiences and react to them in a wholesome and useful way. By this process the patient frequently develops unexpected power to cope with life and wins a happiness previously impossible.

The educational process of inhibition and control shows itself more clearly with reference to the instincts, the more complex impulses. The definition and classification of the human instincts at present is a matter of great discussion in psychology. Three impulses are generally recognized as most primitive and dominant. These are known as the impulses of hunger, self-preservation, and sex. The first attempts to satisfy the physiological demands of the body

for food; the second seeks the safety of the individual; and the third leads to the perpetuation of the race. Each of these instinctive drives feels the force of the group influence and is both enlarged in meaning and curbed in expression by the social forces that originate in human society.

The hunger-drive passes far beyond a mere quest for food and in its present highly developed expression demands for its satisfaction the whole range of economic gratifications. The original biological hunger-food sequence under the stimulation and discipline of the social group is turned into the more complicated hunger-work-money-food sequence. In actual experience the attention becomes more and more fixed upon the work and the money elements in the chain; and other desires than those of food occupy consciousness and produce the pain-pleasure experiences that in infantile and in simple primitive life belong primarily with the food interests. The entire producing and distributing activities of our present highly organized economic world are engaged in providing satisfaction of the social enlargement of the hunger instinct, and represent the results of the socializing of the instinct.

The self-preserving instinct is a group term that includes several different responses that minister to the protection of the individual. As in the case of the hunger-impulse, the self-preserving instinct is also magnified and controlled by social influences. We who live in modern society are not ordinarily engaged in the effort to protect ourselves physically. Occasionally physical danger in one form or another demands and receives our attention. Usually, on the other hand, we are concerned with the preservation of our psychic interests. We protect our esteem, for example, with a degree of the emotional concern that primitive man felt for his physical safety. In this enlarged and transformed sense, self-preservation operates constantly

and with great force in modern life. If the social situation denies satisfaction to the instinct of self-preservation in its various forms there follows great restlessness and unhappiness. If this condition becomes habitual the person begins to feel that he has lost part of his power, his personality, and a chronic feeling of inferiority arises. This is what is meant by "inferiority complex." By repeated defeats in his desire for achievement the individual has been forced to recognize and react against his sense of weakness and impotence.

Here for example is a student who in his class recitation has the bad habit of letting his voice fade away at the end of every sentence so that a large part of what he tries to say is unintelligible. The instructor tries to help the student overcome an unfortunate practice and soon discovers that the student himself realizes his difficulty but has no hope of doing differently. He says that people told him in his early life that he had a physical defect of speech so that he could not expect to speak properly. Later when he went to several doctors in town for help he was told by each of them that there was nothing at all the matter physically with his vocal organs. Nevertheless the statement of the physicians could not get out of his mind his earlier belief, and in speaking he quickly became conscious of his undertaking and faltered. He had chosen to become a lawyer. His vocational ambition was in part at least the desire to succeed in a profession that necessarily would require him to learn to speak. His idea of his handicap in speaking ability influenced not only his choice of life work but also his class behavior. He was very harsh and critical and pugnacious in his attitude toward the class work of his college mates; thus seeking by his manner to turn attention from himself and to compensate for his inner feeling of weakness and inadequacy.

In speaking he began his sentences with a half-successful overcoming of his inferiority and ended by surrendering to his self-depreciation. This speaking-habit was characteristic of his general behavior. His aggression was strongly expressed, but quickly given up when his attitude met with a counter-attack. His criticisms were exaggerated and unfair, but followed by silence when called into question. He rapidly improved both in speaking and in disposition when the origin of his predicament and its significance were explained to him in detail.

Social contact stimulates ambition through competition; it also checks one's achievement. We try to excel because of our desire to win recognition. We fail to obtain satisfaction because of the recognition others obtain. Self-esteem thus becomes a social struggle. In this way the various forms of the self-preserving or self-asserting instinct are forced to assume sociological characteristics and are taken out of the purely physical realm. In the social group it is constantly for the advantage of some to encourage the desire for self-esteem on the part of others. It is equally against the self-esteem of others to see their rivals win success. Into this arena of opposing forces or motives every social enterprise, such as business, art, politics, education, enters and attempts to use for its own interest the human driving power represented by the sociologically developed self-preserving instinct.

The third great instinct, that of sex, receives the same social treatment as the rest. It also is stimulated by modern social life and is equally checked and modified. The socializing of this instinct is largely responsible for the high level which civilization has attained. The sex element in modern life is wonderfully complex as compared with the pure reproductive impulse of animal life and is, by its refinement, far removed from its origin. The sex impulse

becomes love. It flowers into the love of husband and wife and also of parent and child. It feeds adventure. It gives vitality to art in many forms. It proves an advantage to commerce because of its close relationship with fashion. It leads to competition and emulation and thus unites its strength with the second instinct. It provides a basis for family life. It stretches altruism until the latter is forced outside the family group and the parents' attitude is expressed with reference to other people's children. In this way sex is humanized beyond recognition by the influence of tradition and social behavior. Thus also it adds the strength of its impulse to the processes that lift man to the human level.

It is to be expected that difficulties will arise in the socializing of the three major instincts. Especially should we look for problems with reference to the sex instinct, since from its nature it needs the socializing influence of the group most and at the same time it cannot receive the same conscious attention in educational efforts that is given the other chief instincts.

The facts of social life illustrate the difficulties that result from inadequate or harmful social influence operating upon sex impulses. A great part of the suffering and failures of life is due to unsocial behavior rooted in an imperfect socializing of the sex impulse. The true cause of some unsocial act or personal affliction may be the lack of a wholesome sex impulse although on the surface it may appear to come from some source which is in fact of secondary importance. In such cases social diagnosis frequently brings to light the real state of affairs and makes clear the type of educational problem with which we deal.

It is the necessity of socializing the sex impulse, that social life may function on the high human level, and the difficulty of accomplishing the task of socialization that

explain why the psychiatrist and the sociologist so frequently find a sex element in a concrete behavior problem. The meaning of this will surely be misunderstood if one thinks of the matter as having to do with sex in the narrow physical sense. It is the psychic and social by-products of sex, the social creations that replace physical sex interests, that especially vex us in our group life. Society has been able to refine and transform the sex impulse as neither of the other major impulses has been refined and transformed, but naturally in the process of doing this it has made possible a larger number of social disasters due to faulty socialization.

Although hunger, self-preservation, and the reproductive impulse (including the sex and the parental instinct) are the basic drives that influence man socially, there is at present great difference of opinion among the authorities regarding the number of the instincts, some defining many and some few. The problem is complicated by both the difficulty of interpreting the child's early behavior and also by the task of separating the purely instinctive act from the activity which is acquired through experience even though built upon an instinctive tendency. The sociological value of the impulsive and habitual activities has been used in the past to group behavior tendencies under a common term such as fear or curiosity. Instinct as used by the sociologist therefore has tended to become a name for habitual behavior characteristic of man in his social relations. Such terms have denoted the instinctive basis of behavior having definite social purposes.

Of late the psychologists have insisted upon a more exact use of the term instinct. Instinct has from their viewpoint consisted of a specific, inherited mode of activity. The more general behavior has been treated as a habit pattern. However, there has been no disposition to regard

these activities classified under the latter term as less significant for social experience. The discussion is with reference to the origin of the activity rather than its forcefulness. The human instincts most frequently defined are hunger, sex, self-preservation (self abasement and self-assertion), pugnacity, fear (flight), gregariousness, curiosity, workmanship, and acquisitiveness.

The social life of human beings is built upon impulses. But, as we have seen in the case of the three most important instincts, this social life is not the simple, automatic, unmodified expression of the underlying inherited tendencies. If the basic impulses were permitted to dominate behavior without any guidance or training or restriction, organized society such as we now have would be impossible. The impulses provide momentum but they require control and direction. They furnish the raw material which through the socializing process of the group is worked into the behavior which is characteristic of men and women.

The socializing of natural impulses is especially the task of education. Instruction begun by the parent and continued by the teacher has for its essential purpose the bringing of the impulsive life of the individual under the authority of the group. Of course neither parent nor school has a monopoly of this undertaking. In all his associations the individual feels the pressure of the group coming from every quarter upon his inherited tendencies; and he is forced to recognize social authority since the group will tolerate his presence upon no other condition.

The individual has no choice in the matter. He cannot freely follow his original cravings, for they early bring him into conflict with the practices of the group and he learns from such experiences that his best interests, his personal satisfactions, are dependent upon his becoming acceptable to the people with whom he has contact. There-

fore the instincts of man do not serve him as animal instincts minister to the needs of the lower animals. The animal expresses his behavior upon the purely instinctive level and lives or dies according to whether his instinctive acts prove under the circumstances favorable or unfavorable. Man must bring his impulses largely in line with group policy and these group standards to which he must conform are derived from the experiences of the group and not from the unrestrained impulses of the individual. There can be no escape from the influence of the group, for the individual's own impulses drive him toward social relationships, and thus operate upon him as soon as he enters upon any association and demand from him acts that are supposed to be socially expedient. If the adjustment results in conflict within the individual there can be no solution in giving the impulses free rein, for such a program will result in increasing the opposition from the group and finally crushing the individual unless the pains inflicted upon him teach him to mend his ways.

The education or socializing of the impulses is not an arbitrary interference with the purposes of the individual, on the part of the group, but a necessity. Human instincts do not furnish preparation for life. They merely give the substance for character-building. Preparation for life is for the human being a social process and involves a transformation of instinctive tendencies. Conduct is lifted from the level of impulses to the level of social behavior. Education is therefore the means by which the group maintains itself, the process by which the individual is given his equipment for membership in the group. The impulsive energy is drawn up to the social level and expended in socialized behavior.

The tendencies to activity that arise from man's impulses are multitudinous and confusing. They are called forth

by an environment that stimulates them in profusion. They are not adjusted to one another. The expression of one is frequently the denial of another. Sometimes they are mutually exclusive, just as for example the emotions of fear and of rage cannot at the same moment dominate any one's consciousness. Individual happiness, therefore, requires that the various, conflicting impulses be brought from time to time into some degree of order. This demands the subordination of some and the checking and suppression of others. The relationship of the impulses clamoring for recognition and expression is constantly undergoing change. Dominance is forever shifting and first one impulse and then another occupies the center of consciousness.

There is still another reason why the impulsive life has to be constantly adjusted by social influences. The mechanisms we inherit and in large measure the earlier habits that we acquire are not adapted to the needs of our present level of civilized behavior. The complex adult society of today is a development that has passed far beyond the simple character of primitive and savage life, and proportionally puts upon us demands that are in advance of our elementary animal and prehistoric instinctive reactions. To the socializing forces falls the duty of bringing the expression of man's impulsive life up to the requirements of our modern social situation.

The life into which the child with his uncultivated impulses enters is not a static, completed social situation but one that still changes and advances toward greater complexity. The group experiences therefore for which the child needs preparation are different even from those of the adult society which is undertaking the training. The child is taught in harmony with the adult standards of his day. His own mature behavior, however, must be carried on amid circumstances very unlike those of his child-

hood. The teacher, working under the conditions of today, seeks to equip the child for the obligations he must meet tomorrow. Under the influence of the limitations of his age he attempts to produce impulse-adjustment that will be in harmony with a social environment that is at the time largely future. In the circumstances it is not strange that education often lags behind the demands put upon it by a rapidly developing social life.

In order that the schools can minister in the largest degree possible to a progressively developing civilization, they must attempt the difficult task of anticipating the future demands that society will make of their graduates. Unless the school forecasts the requirements that the group behavior of tomorrow will place upon man's impulsive nature, social loss and retardation must follow. The group cannot escape the test of flexibility and alertness that the environment insists upon in the case of the individual if he seeks the advantages of a favorable adjustment to his surroundings. The group may postpone the penalty that must finally result from backward methods of social adjustment. It may largely conceal from itself the origin of difficulties that result in archaic educational practices and obsolete educational material, but this will not in the slightest measure remove the social maladjustments that will vex men and women in their social relationships. Education, to be of social service, has to discipline and develop the impulses of the child in such a way as to make the inherited tendencies conform to the more wholesome, the more complex society that rightfully belongs to the next generation.

Topics for Discussion

1. In what sense is thinking a mode of behavior?

2. What reflexes are of advantage to the individual? Can you give illustrations of disadvantageous reflex acts?

3. How are the reflexes of animals trained?

4. What are the chief processes of conditioning the reflexes of children at school?

5. How can the school protect the timid child?

6. Why are economic motives so prominent in present society?

7. How can the schools minister to wholesome self-esteem?

8. How does family life develop altruism? When may it hamper altruism?

9. How would you classify the instincts?

10. What influences are tending to make present-day education progressive?

11. What influences tend to make education formal and backward?

12. What new demands in social behavior are likely to be made of the next generation?

Topics for Reports

1. The impulsive life of early childhood.

2. The experiments of Pavlov in his demonstration of the conditioned reflex.

3. The life-history of a timid, sensitive child.

4. The classification of instincts in McDougall's Social Psychology.

5. The definition of instinct in Watson's "Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist."

6. Freud's interpretation of the sex instinct.

7. Adler's treatment of will-to-power cravings.

8. The influence of primitive family life upon social behavior.

9. A progressive program for present-day public school education.

10. The influence of instincts upon school behavior.

Supplementary Readings

Dewey, J., *Human Nature and Conduct, Part 2,* Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1922.

Faris, E., *Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 27, pp. 184-96, Sept., 1921.

Ginsberg, M., *The Psychology of Society, ch. 2,* E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1921.

Humphrey, G., *The Conditioned Reflex and the Elementary Social Reaction,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 17, pp. 113-19, July, 1922.

MacCurdy, J. T., *Problems in Dynamic Psychology, ch. 18,* Macmillan, New York, 1922.

McDougall, W., *An Introduction to Social Psychology, chs. 2, 3,* Luce & Co., Boston, 1918.

Myerson, A., *The Foundations of Personality, ch. 6,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1921.

Paton, S., *Human Behavior, ch. 2,* Scribner's, New York, 1921.

Rivers, W. H. R., *Instinct and the Unconscious, ch. 6,* Cambridge University Press, London, 1922.

Wells, W. R., *The Value for Social Psychology of the Concept of Instinct,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 16, pp. 334-43, Dec., 1921.

Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology, ch. 3,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924.

CHAPTER III

The Instincts and the Complex

One of the difficult problems upon which the science of psychology is at present working is the classification of the human instincts. Although at present there is considerable difference of opinion among psychologists as to this classification, there is rather general agreement that the socially dominant instincts are the instinct of self-assertion, the herd instinct, and the sex instinct. These instincts are universally found in normal human nature and also appear the basis of many of the other so-called instincts. The self-assertive includes several different forms of self-regarding impulsive reactions, notably in modern behavior, the socialized hunger urge. It leads to activities that protect the existence of the individual. The second, the gregarious instinct, emphasizes the social relationships of the individual and has much to do with the bringing about of organized social life. The third, the sex instinct, perpetuates the race and also makes possible altruistic interests that could not arise, were the individual under the dominance of the egoistic instinct alone. The social conduct of men and women is necessarily influenced more by these three fundamental pattern reactions than by any of the others. A large part of the problems of human behavior is concerned with the adjustment and harmonizing of these three basic instincts.

It is natural that these fundamental reactions should often be in collision. Man's environment is so complex and the stimulations that operate upon him, so many and so various that we find the three chief instincts brought

into discord. This is the origin of most of the conflicts that have such a controlling influence over behavior. As a result of inheritance and early experience the instincts of self-assertion, of the herd, and of sex are expressed in differing intensity in different individuals. Each of the instincts also is excited to greater degrees of strength according to the particular circumstances of the environmental situation present at the time when the individual expresses his reaction. Frequently one instinct obstructs the expression of another. The opportunities for conflict between the self-assertive tendency and the herd-regarding attitude are particularly numerous. As one instinct meets obstructions it throws its momentum back upon the mind itself, and an adjustment of the individual's self-expression follows the checking process. All sorts of relationships become possible, due to the limiting and conflicting influences of the primary instincts upon one another.

Each individual is always attempting to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the three major interests. Such a harmonizing of the different instinctive cravings is not only difficult but is necessarily temporary. The mere expression of one instinctive reaction brings forward a conflicting desire and thus the adjustment is broken down and the process has to be gone through with again. Moreover, all the changing influences of body, mind and social experience operate upon the individual, perhaps checking one of the three instincts, while at the same time stimulating to the utmost the other two. Every possible combination of instinctive reaction is characteristic of normal human experience. As a result the individual is largely in persistent struggle for inner harmony, and the inner self may even at times be tumultuous because of the intensity of the conflicting interests.

Definite, habitual reactions based upon one of the primary instincts may become established in the mind and have for the individual a very great emotional content. This is what is meant by the *complex*. The complex, in its widest sense, is a connection of ideas, due to previous experience, which has for the individual a large emotional value. Emotions connected with the complex are usually beyond what the experience justifies. Indeed, emotionally the complex may be contrary to the facts. Modern psychology uses the term complex with much the same meaning that Professor William James gave to the "self" when he pictured the individual as made up of different selves, each sympathetic toward experiences in harmony with its emotional character and hostile to new experience in discord with its feeling tone. In other words, the self so long as it occupied consciousness would attempt to perpetuate itself and to discount the meaning of experience destructive to its own dominance. The more modern term, "complex," makes the situation much clearer. It also calls attention to the process of development.

As Professor Tansley has pointed out, a complex may be of two kinds, the universal or the particular. The universal is characteristic of human nature in general and is a product of one of the three dominating instincts. The particular complex is generally weaker and more loosely constructed. It represents the special experiences of a definite individual. The particular complexes are the creations of training and education and therefore have an accidental character as compared with the fundamental basic type. Although the particular complexes are important, they are nevertheless secondary as compared with the others since they are lacking in the quality of universality. The meaning of *complex* can best be brought out by illustration.

Suppose a conscientious boy finds himself, as a result of suggestion and opportunity, guilty of theft. He conceals his behavior and the thought of what he has done becomes a nucleus for various experiences of fear, desire of confession, suspicion that he is discovered, efforts at emotional compensation, and other allied reactions. The more he thinks about his bad behavior, the more significant it becomes. Perhaps he finds himself occupied with thoughts of his theft constantly during the waking day, especially when his mind wanders from any engrossing activity. A complex has formed itself, which in this case is distinctly hostile to the inner poise and pleasurable tone of the individual. Under such circumstances the boy can react to his complex in one of three ways. He may try to forget what he has done and thus push the experience as far as possible outside of consciousness. In this way he drives it into what is known as the subconscious. Even when it does not appear clearly any more in conscious experience we are sure that it has not departed from his life since it is almost certain to show itself in the dream experience. This attempt to be rid of the disagreeable association of ideas by forcing it out of consciousness is known as *repression.* On the other hand, the boy may adjust himself to his behavior by trying to rid himself of a sense of blame. In this case he struggles for harmony by loss of moral scruples. Effort is made to adjust the entire personality to the guilty experience and make that characteristic of his personality. A third reaction and perhaps the most harmful possible is to take refuge in phantasy. If this is done, the boy will try to convince himself that the theft was never committed and that therefore he has nothing to blame himself for and is in no risk of detection. If this policy is assumed, he will have to color the actual facts of

life more and more in order to make the unreal thing seem true.

There are two exceedingly important complexes that are bound to form themselves in the life of the normal child. One is the father complex and the other, the mother complex. The experience of the child with either of his parents becomes the nucleus for a group of many different ideas and desires, all of them linked together by their relationship to the parent. For example, the boy will bring together a mass of feelings and ideas that originate in association with the mother, and this systematized accumulation of many different experiences will produce in his behavior reactions and emotions that are expressive of the complex itself. He will, for instance, imitate his mother and react with hostility to experiences out of harmony with his mother-complex. He may develop jealousy with reference to the father, due to his desire to monopolize the mother.

Another common form of complex with which everyone is familiar is the attitude of the person with one idea or with one book, or with very strong bias. This single interest brings into association a large number of different experiences because emotionally this person is always feeding his complex and is blind or hostile to anything that would cause the undoing of the association of ideas which for him has come to have such importance.

It is interesting to notice how the purpose of the moment tends to bring forward certain complexes and to suppress others. For example, with the coming of the day the man of industry finds his imagination going forward to the tasks at hand, and the complexes related either appear in consciousness or are easily brought forward when the appropriate stimulus arrives. With the coming of evening and the possibilities of recreation, an entirely new set of

complexes take their place ready for emergence into consciousness. This has been beautifully expressed by Browning in his contrasting poems, "Meeting at Night," and "Parting at Morning." The first pictures a worker returning from the doings of the day, with the home complexes dominant; the second shows the same person looking forward to the work of the day.

MEETING AT NIGHT

The gray sea and the long black land
And the yellow half-moon large and low;
And the startled little waves that leap
In fiery ringlets from their sleep,
As I gain the cove with pushing prow,
And quench its speed i' the slushy sand.

Then a mile of warm sea-scented beach;
Three fields to cross till a farm appears;
A tap at the pane, the quick sharp scratch
And blue spurt of a lighted match,
And a voice less loud, through its joys and fears,
Than the two hearts beating each to each.

PARTING AT MORNING

Round the cape of a sudden came the sea,
And the sun looked over the mountain's rim:
And straight was a path of gold for him,
And the need of a world of men for me.

Complexes that are stimulated but find no means of expression irritate very deeply. This is one of the fatiguing elements of modern life. All about us are stimulations, often purposely organized to stir up complexes of a definite sort with the expectation that the individual will respond with the desired conduct. The advertisement, however, that stimulates self-expression in one individual, according

to the will of the advertiser, is blocked by the financial circumstances of another individual so that the complex, although stimulated, can not pass to the appropriate activity. Under such circumstances the individual becomes restless and dissatisfied. Where the emotional strength of the complex is very great, its blocking brings a profound discontent and issues forth in a serious conflict.

A large part of our thinking is occupied with efforts to defend complexes which we already have. This process of protecting ourselves from the painful attempt at self-scrutiny is known as *rationalization.* The mind finds reasons for the dominance of the complex. We bring to bear all the resources of our experience to establish more firmly the associated ideas that are already over-valued and distorted. It is this habit of rationalization that makes self-correction so difficult and takes away from thought a large proportion of its possible value. Instead of using our thought to bring about the wisest possible adjustment, we expend it in the futile effort to make rational the attitude which by its very constituency is contrary to our welfare.

Naturally the complexes form themselves particularly about the ego. We may bring under the ego-complex all the self-regarding instinctive reactions of the individual as Tansley has done in his "New Psychology and its Relation to Life." In that case all the instinctive reactions that are built upon self-assertion become different forms of the ego-complex. The following are the human instincts as classified by William MacDougall in his "Social Psychology": flight, pugnacity, repulsion, curiosity, self-assertion, self-abasement, parental instinct, reproduction (sex), feeding, gregariousness, acquisition, construction. It will be seen that several of these may be defined as secondary expressions of the primary self-assertive instinct, the basis of the ego-complex.

In this book self-assertion is used in the wide, catholic sense of the basic self-regarding instinct. Curiosity, for instance, may be defined as one of the several expressions of self-assertion. The child begins his intellectual development by instinctive attitudes which express his interest in the surrounding environment, which we pronounce the evidences of curiosity. With eye and with touch he feeds his mind. Much of his intellectual vitality in later life depends upon the response these early explorations receive. Any obstruction of his desire to become acquainted with things may decrease his later love of investigation and in that way decrease his intellectual ability. He needs direction. The child's first attention to sex is likely to be entirely a matter of curiosity. Here is one of the cases where parents need to take great care lest an unnatural and morbid reaction follow from the effort of the parent to suppress what is merely natural curiosity. Curiosity attempts to project self-assertion by bringing within comprehension unknown elements of the surrounding environment.

The so-called instinct of workmanship also is related to self-assertion. It represents the individual's effort to get satisfaction by creating projects which he himself works out. Since it represents a sense of power, it necessarily brings considerable satisfaction and a sense of esteem. This is particularly true when there is any element of social competition in the things produced. The teacher and parent must not forget that failure on the part of the young child to compete with his associates with a reasonable degree of success may lead to discouragement and loss of self-respect.

It is particularly difficult for the city child to have enough opportunity for wholesome satisfaction along the lines of workmanship. The environment in which he finds

himself is so largely standardized for adult enjoyment that his efforts at construction are necessarily few and frequently in conflict with the social order. This is particularly unfortunate since it weakens the child's sense of the value of original creation and this in turn generally means a lack of understanding of the meaning of private property. Normally the child develops a sense of property-ownership by producing and using the things that are his. A city flat provides little opportunity for the child to make anything, and the city street limits the use of toys and other property dear to the heart of the child. As a result the city child is particularly impressed by opportunities provided by communistic enterprises, and the sense of workmanship is decreased in proportion to his dependence upon community enterprises for his recreation.

Acquisition is often regarded as an instinct. It is obvious that the desire to accumulate, which is so natural in early childhood and has such far-reaching consequences in our present highly organized society, is a derivative of the self-assertive instinct. The individual extends his personality by ownership and control of the things that he acquires. This form of self-assertion has become one of the troublesome reactions in modern society. The desire of one individual to possess and control brings him in conflict with the desire of others. Society seems to be seeking a means of decreasing acquisitiveness without loss of personal initiative, which in times past has largely issued forth from acquisitive cravings. Acquisitiveness easily passes over into power cravings and a still stronger form of self-assertion results.

When the complex becomes tremendously emotional and occupies a large part of the person's life, disturbing the equilibrium of the individual in nearly all his doings, we have what we call a pathological complex. It is stronger

than the ordinary complex and also more deeply embedded in the subconscious. It has passed not only beyond the control of the individual but also beyond his knowledge. It is like a foreign element in his life. It intrudes itself into all his thinking and action and shows itself especially in experiences that portray the working of the subconscious, such as dreams, neuroses and insanities. Some psychiatrists limit the use of the word *complex* entirely to these more violent experiences. The pathological complex in spite of its abnormality is usually formed in much the same way as the more ordinary complex. It represents the enormous development of a systematic association of ideas of high emotional content, which finally comes to have such importance in the life of the person as to represent the same kind of situation that we find in the hysterical patient who develops multiple personality. It is a sort of self within the self, showing its pernicious influence at every opportunity in conduct.

In dealing with the complex it is important to keep in mind the significance of the unconscious life. In order to deal with the actual experiences of the human mind it has been necessary to construct the hypothesis of the *unconscious.* This provides an explanation for the appearance in consciousness of ideas and impulses that are not related to the preceding experiences of consciousness and are not the product of outside stimulation. This unconsciousness is not subject to the direct control of consciousness but its influence enters consciousness like an intruding energy. The unconscious complex spreads along lines in harmony with the characteristics of the individual unconsciousness and as its effect from time to time appears in consciousness it may be out of harmony with the conscious personality. Thus the coming into consciousness of influences of unconscious origin is at the least mysterious to

the person and sometimes actually oppressive. It has been found from experience that the emotional conflict due to these influences of unconscious origin can be happily dissolved by the process of bringing into consciousness a clear understanding of how the difficulty has arisen. This process, known as psycho-analysis, is the product primarily of Dr. Sigmund Freud, of Vienna, Austria, who by attracting attention to the significance of the unconscious origin of emotional conflict has given the physician a new insight into mental disorders. Dr. Stanley Hall has perhaps best portrayed the importance of the unconscious by comparing the mind to an iceberg. The smaller part above the surface of the water represents consciousness; the greater part, hidden, is the unconscious life.

Although this unconscious life is differently interpreted at present by students of psychology, its significance for the social conflict is universally admitted. In actual practice the psycho-analytic method requires great skill and can be used safely only by those who are thoroughly trained and experienced. The reason for this is in part the fact that just as soon as any effort is made to dig into the unconscious by extending processes of memory, resistance is developed by the person, since these experiences that are concealed in the unconscious are largely the results of having driven from conscious attention ideas or experiences unpleasant to the person. Increasing resistance to the physician's probing results from the psycho-analytic process. This, and also the possibility that the real difficulty is organic rather than mental, precludes the amateur from using psycho-analysis in cases of mental difficulty. Those who deal with people, however, find a knowledge of psycho-analysis of great assistance in meeting the ordinary difficulties of social contact. Knowledge of psycho-analysis gives the student of social behavior insight into

the motives that influence people, and teachers and parents are particularly helped by familiarity with the general principles of psycho-analysis.

Topics for Discussion

1. What are the social purposes of the dominant instincts?
2. What is a complex?
3. How do complexes originate in children?
4. What is meant by the subconscious?
5. What are the possible reactions of a child suffering from a serious complex?
6. How may the complex show itself in prejudice?
7. How may complexes irritate one and cause fatigue?
8. How should we treat a complex in a child? In ourselves? In a friend?
9. What is the value of curiosity for the educator?
10. What is a pathological complex?

Topics for Reports

1. History of an emotional complex.
2. Influences of an emotional complex upon physical health.
3. Influences of an emotional complex upon school work.
4. William James' doctrine of the "self."
5. The therapeutic value of confession.
6. Hawthorne's use of confession in the "Marble Faun."
7. Browning's portrayal of emotional complex in "The Ring and the Book."
8. McDougall's definition and classification of the instincts.
9. Acquisition as a modern social motive.
10. Principal definitions of the complex.

Supplementary Readings

Hart, B., *Complex and Sentiment,* British Journal of Psychology, General Series, Oct., 1922.

Hart, B., *The Psychology of Insanity, ch. 5,* Cambridge University Press, London, 1920.

Hocking, W. E., *The Dilemma in the Conception of the Instinct, as Applied to Human Psychology,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 16, pp. 73-96, June, 1921.

Hunter, W. S., *Modification of Instinct from the Standpoint of Social Psychology,* Psychological Review, July, 1920.

Kantor, J. R., *A Fundamental Interpretation of Human Instinct,* Psychological Review, Jan., 1920.

Nicoll, M., *Dream Psychology, ch. 13,* Oxford University Press, London, 1920.

Prince, M., *The Structure and Dynamic Elements of Human Personality,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 15, pp. 403-13, Dec., 1920.

Rivers, W. H. R., *Complex and Sentiment,* British Journal of Psychology, General Series, Oct., 1922.

Rivers, W. H. R., *Instinct and the Unconscious, ch. 11,* Cambridge University Press, London, 1920.

Shand, A. F., *Complex and Sentiment,* British Journal of Psychology, General Series, Oct., 1922.

Tansley, A. G., *Complex and Sentiment,* British Journal of Psychology, General Series, Oct., 1922.

Tansley, A. G., *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, chs. 5, 17,* Allen & Unwin, London, 1920.

Tolman, E. C., *Instinct and Purpose,* Psychological Review, May, 1920.

Watson, J. B., *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist, ch. 7,* Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1919.

Wheeler, W. M., *On Instincts,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 15, pp. 295-318, Dec., 1920.

Balz, A. G. A., *The Basis of Social Theory, ch. 4,* Knopf, New York, 1924.

Brierley, Susan, *An Introduction to Psychology, chs. 6-8,* Methuen, London, 1923.

Ginsberg, M., *The Psychology of Society, chs. 1, 2,* Dutton, New York, 1921.

McDougall, W., *Can Sociology and Social Psychology Dispense with the Instincts?* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 9, pp. 13-46, April-June, 1924.

CHAPTER IV

Habit and Social Continuity

Habit may be defined as a definite acquired mode of acting. It has a physiological basis, for the habit is made possible by the correlation of brain cells and nerves. In the adult it is difficult to distinguish between habit and instinct. As a matter of fact much of what we call instinct is actually habit. The habit is as immediate and as automatic as instinct; it is different in its complexity and also in the fact that it is constructed out of impulsive material and therefore can be built up or modified by conscious effort and practice. It is often forgotten that habits contain both elements that we find in impulse: activity and feeling. In our common thought we call the active element of the impulse, instinct, using the term emotion in the sense of the feeling-response to the activity.

Perhaps there can be no better illustration of the double aspect of habit than the two problems involved in the child's first walking. The child's attempt to walk is the greatest adventure that he has experienced up to that time. It is on the side of physical activity a task of adjustment of muscles and nerves so as to produce locomotion and balance. It is this part of the process that generally attracts the attention of older people. There is, however, an inner element in the adventure, a new zest, an eagerness to work out new powers faintly perceived. As the process develops, it contains the possibility of pain as well as pleasure. That is, the physical activity, the outward expression, is responded to in terms of inner attitude, the feeling experience. The walking for example may be

delayed by any fear which arises as a result of serious physical injury or pain. If the experience develops this element of fear excessively, not only will the physical act of walking be delayed; but it seems reasonable to assume that the child will have already suffered to some degree a loss of self-confidence as a result of his first serious conflict with reality.

John Dewey brings out this double element in habit by the illustration of the artist.[1] The habits acquired by the artist make possible skill of manipulation. Without delicacy of touch, coördination of muscles, he cannot paint. The artistic element itself, however, is contained in the emotional elements that go on with the mechanical process of painting. The artist's habits, therefore, are primarily adaptations to this inner world of artistic creation. The expression of skill which uses form and color to satisfy inner fancies is secondary. He who has only the second may indeed paint but no one thinks of him as an artist. He who has only the first may appreciate art but he cannot produce it.

It is this double element, feeling and activity, that explains the ambivalency of habit.[2] The individual is frequently torn between acting as judgment tells him the environment demands and in a different way as his inner self craves. Emotion draws him one way and former experience and usual custom and social expectation lead him in the opposite direction. This double-faced character of habit explains the frequent experience we all have of being very restless in our decisions, the fact being that our activity when carried forth stimulates emotional attitudes adverse to our decision. We have desired to carry forth two opposing courses of action and whichever one is

(1) Dewey, J., Human Nature and Conduct, p. 71.
(2) The co-existence of opposed feelings, such as love and hate.

finally chosen can hardly be carried to its culmination without stirring up regret and disappointment.

It is possible even for us to acquire strong habits as a result of discipline and training to which we react unfavorably. A strange result follows. We do with skill what we dislike to do. Anyone familiar with the results that follow the making of military drill a requirement in college will recall the many cases where the increasing skill of the student in carrying out the drill movements has accompanied an equal dislike for the thing itself. The same fact is frequently illustrated in machine labor. The operator who at the time of starting his new occupation found the manipulation of his machine faintly interesting, although he may have been performing the operation awkwardly, soon loses interest as the habit becomes physically more accurate and automatic and the task itself therefore less and less agreeable. In our school work this double aspect of habit shows itself particularly in the day-dreaming tendencies of children. As a process becomes mechanically more perfect and the attention of the child is not so much needed for the carrying out of the instructor's requirements, opportunity is given for indulgence in imagery that does hold the attention of the child. Since the habit process has little emotional zest the child falls back on his inner states of mind and although he performs more easily the mechanical operations, their value to him psychically is tremendously decreased. His real mental life is wasted as it flows along the line of inner emotional habits that have no relation at all with the mechanical processes going on at the same time.

Since the activity has been reduced to habit it can be carried on without the attention of the mind. Opportunity is thus given for the more interesting experiences of day-dreaming to take possession of consciousness. Fancy is per-

mitted to express itself in pleasurable imagery along lines followed previously by similar reveries and thus an inner habit, saturated with emotional coloring, is constructed, which is utterly unrelated and indifferent to the other habitual activities going on at the same time. The mind in this manner becomes occupied with habits composed of pleasant fictions that give the person satisfaction without the substance of fact, but in no way assist him in his outward adjustments. One habit deals with reality, with the physical enterprise; the other removes interest from the environment and shuts the person up within himself. The mind is engaged in two different and mentally competing processes. Thus a division is created similar to the more serious separation of mental processes to which science gives the name dissociation.

It is this tendency toward dissociation which makes the day-dreaming of the child dangerous to his success and distinguishes day-dreaming from fancy and artistic creation. The teacher has need of ever keeping in mind that good habit formation requires more than mere repetition leading to mechanical skill. It is necessary also to create in the child favorable attitudes toward the habit formation itself. The value of the habit needs to be stressed. It should be constantly related to ideas that are close to the desire of the child. In this way the habit develops equally in outward expression and inward attraction. The child likes what he does and works all the more skillfully because he works happily. By this process of preparing for habit formation by favorable mental attitudes time is saved and the child is taught to find his interest in his activity.

A good deal of the laziness charged against school children is really due to the effort of the teacher to establish habits that the adult recognizes as desirable but that make no appeal to the children themselves. Since the child is

given little insight into the demands made upon him and since he lacks appreciation of their value, because of his immaturity, he naturally takes refuge in the world of fancy. His lack of attention and concentration appears in his failure to accomplish his task; and, as a result, he is charged with having done his work unsatisfactorily. Little effort is likely to be made to interpret to him the meaning of the task put upon him. Indeed the assignment may be a time-killing exercise which really has for the child little lasting value. In any case the apparently lazy child is in need of analysis for he may be suffering from a chronic habit of day-dreaming which has largely replaced his ability to turn his entire mind to the task of actual accomplishment. The importance of a division of attention on the part of the child in failures in school work is clearly brought out by the following quotation from a recent investigation of laziness in school children:

"A failure to dwell in the real, though conventional, living world and a tendency to establish a dream world for self-satisfaction may result in a mental preoccupation that precludes the direction of attention, save under the greatest urge, to the formalized work that has been established as of benefit to the community, but is not necessarily properly adapted to each and every individual. The phantasy may in itself be the cause of an inactivity that leads to the type of behavior so often resulting in the stigmatizing of children as dreamers, dawdlers, putterers, or slackers. Herein the emotional state merits more thorough investigation and sympathy rather than the driving, forcing, cajoling, or abusing that is utilized in an attempt to secure a desired effort.

"Inactivity or sluggishness or laziness, even when it is accompanied by apparent good health, is not to be met by scolding, sarcasm, verbal abuse, or constant propulsion by

arguments as to the worth of industry; the driven child is more likely to be seized by a distaste for work than is the child whose inspired or spontaneous interests impel him to activity. The rational course is to offer an external stimulus that will tend to create an inner urge. The personal impetus, self-derived, arises from the stimulation of such primitive instincts as curiosity, pugnacity, and the like. There is little question but that the undue stress placed upon precepts as to the value of work is counteracted by the obvious acclaim which the community so frequently yields to those who do the least physical labor. Children often are aware of this distinction and desire to ally themselves with the honored group, who labor least, rather than with the group whose apparently more arduous efforts are attended with comparatively less community recognition.

"Normal children in abundant health and vigor possess tremendous reservoirs of energy for which they seek outlet. A damming back of activity in children of this type results in an unnatural sluggishness, inertness, or apathy that at once calls for medical investigations. Such sluggishness or apathy often represents the onset of some one of a number of contagious diseases whose first symptoms are expressed in altered behavior. The persistence, however, of these same symptoms too frequently results merely in an indifferent and acquiescent recognition of their unfortunate character, and the term 'laziness' is accepted as an adequate explanation of them. The use of this term under such circumstances is a verbal denomination of a condition that is not understood, and indicates merely a failure to comprehend the nature and trends of the child's mind.

"Certainly habitual apathy or constant indifference calls for investigation. One may say that the remedy lies in the establishment of habits of industry. This is of

course true, but it is more difficult to achieve than it sounds. It is too often forgotten that the energy outlet must be into channels that possess some real significance to and for the child. The conventional studies, manual work, or occupational direction that our schools provide, may be just as ineffective as the limited opportunities afforded in the home, in so far as any particular child is concerned. There has been too much domination by the adult point of view and a corresponding failure to interpret life's activities in terms of children's needs and natures. There is greater advantage in the doing of anything than in the doing of nothing. The habit of activity is paramount in the development of personality, and from the educational point of view the medium through which it is attained is relatively inconsequential. The superior assumptions of adults all too frequently run counter to the natural impulses of childhood. A child's education in activity is not to be regarded as purely disciplinary, a mere effort to keep him busy. His individuality merits recognition and his specific instinctive or acquired interests are not to be constantly thwarted, regarded as puerile, and, therefore, foolish or wholly undesirable and ineffective."[1]

The parent or teacher must not regard habit merely from the angle of individual efficiency. Habit is also a socializing process and the stability of social life is built upon it. Professor William James has described habit as "the enormous fly-wheel of society, its most precious conservative agent."[2]

Social continuity is the product of social habits. Our institutions are primarily organized for the successful carrying out of habits that have become our custom as a

(1) Wile, I. S., Laziness in School Children, Mental Hygiene, Vol. 6, pp. 76-77, Jan., 1922.
(2) James, W., Psychology, Briefer Course, p. 143.

result of tradition and training. Habit is a sort of social cement, and if it were not for habit there could be nothing but anarchy in our political and social relations. Whatever becomes habitual seems necessary. Our familiarity with certain experiences tends to make them seem inevitable. It is this that creates the difficulty of correcting customs and ideas that are out of harmony with the actual conditions. Few there are that are able to step outside familiar conditions and impartially judge habits that have become to them as strong as their original nature. No one is so judicial as to be able to get outside of all the social habits round about him. Fortunately, however, it is possible to be critical regarding some of them. Reform originates from some critical and discerning person's concentrating upon habitual social behavior that is clearly working against general welfare. By attracting attention to the fact that at a definite point social habit is working badly he eventually is able to get a majority to help him in the correction of the fault. Progress that comes about by this process is bound to be irksome to those individuals who are still thoroughly committed to the old habits and who because of age or emotional inflexibility are unable easily to make the new adjustment. They obstruct the changes, react violently to the restrictions that they feel are unjustly imposed upon them and in every way illustrate the force of social continuity through habits, and the difficulty of switching from one course of social action to another.

This is the seat of the failure of revolutions. The political upheaval may change all outward behavior and seemingly recreate the social world, as did the French Revolution. Nevertheless the habits of the people are little affected by these rapid, sweeping changes. The people still have the same emotional attitudes and crave, often

without knowing it themselves, some of the former social conditions. The result is that the old life creeps back again, little by little replacing the changes inaugurated by the revolution. In the end, even though national and sometimes political structure is different, the habit-life, which is the essential basis of the social tendencies, remains the same.

This also explains the impossibility of inaugurating Utopias. The perfect state requires the perfect man, and the perfect man cannot be created by social conditions that belong to the actual human social life. The ideal state is impossible because it would require the complete revision of the habits of life of all the people. By the very process of attempting to put this into effect people would be so alienated that they could not endure the order of change. Social progress cannot come suddenly or completely. It is a matter of habit construction. Advance in social behavior requires patience and is seldom a direct march forward.

How then can progress come if habit is so hard to change, so tenacious in its effort to continue familiar conditions? We get our progress largely through pain. Unpleasant experiences, the result of social behavior, force attention upon the maladjustment. Pain is the critic of custom. When our habits are clearly not working for our advantage we begin to scrutinize them and some of us are bound to feel opposition to them. Progress thus comes chiefly from the breaking down of methods of social adjustment that in a former period under different circumstances worked well. This crisis situation,[1] removes our behavior from the automatic, smooth habit-process and demands of us that we give our attention to the social maladjustment from which we suffer.

(1) Thomas, W. I., Source Book for Social Origins, pp. 3-29.

A very interesting and typical illustration of this experience is the different attitudes taken commonly in regard to slavery by the people of the northern and southern states. In the north slavery was seen to be unprofitable sooner than this became evident in the south. The north at the beginning of the period of slavery had nearly as many slaves as the south. The economic life of the northern states required, however, free labor; and more and more it became clear that slavery did not pay. As slaves decreased, the people, free from bias in regard to the matter, were in a position to start thinking about the morals involved. Some of the southerners were beginning to see that even in the plantation organization of agriculture, slavery was in the long run unprofitable. Before they were able to make any impression upon southern thinking the mass of the south reacted to the criticism of slavery by the reformers in the northern states in a way to make any peaceful settlement of the problem impossible.

The difficulty with the pain method of correcting social habits is the fact that it is often exceedingly difficult to discover the real source of the pain. It is easier for one to know that he is suffering physical pain than it is sometimes to find out whence the pain comes. The pain may express itself at one point; its origin may be elsewhere. What is true of the body and physical pain is even more true of social organization and social pain. Even if for a long period of time the south had actually suffered financial loss by holding to the archaic system of slave production it might have taken many years to convince the people of the true cause of their lack of prosperity. Over-production of cotton, inefficiency and deterioration of slave habits, low tariff, bad business methods and numerous explanations more agreeable than the true one would be likely to be chosen. In other words, habitual behavior

has a tendency to blind one to its own faults. Looking backward into any former state of society it is easy enough to see the situation as it really was because we are not tied by the social habits that were dominant at the time.

Progress comes also from natural and accidental variation. We do not exactly and completely copy the social habits round about us. The father teaches his son but the son differs a little from the father, in part because he fails somewhat in the process of duplication. We see this slight, gradual changing of social habits in savage society. At first it appears as if the people had no opportunity to vary at all. Their life is very simple and their social behavior rigid and strongly entrenched. But more detailed knowledge reveals that even in such a fixed social order changes gradually creep in. The child imitates but fortunately not with complete success. His emotional reactions to his habits, because of the new circumstances of his life, may differ from those of his father. Slight departure adds interest to his undertakings. The result is that he compromises. He does not much leave the old pathway. He does not, however, follow in the old ruts. This sliding in of social variation, this gradual change in the social behavior of a people, is indispensable to human progress.

Education is unable in justice to its social mission to tie itself to the past and attempt merely to continue former customs and establish uniformity of social behavior over the longest possible stretch of time. It must prepare for the future also and train the child to meet conditions only on the horizon and not yet actual in social experience.

Education cannot, however, discount the past without bringing about social loss, for it is from the culture of the past that insight may be had for the new experience. To wipe away all of the past is to attempt to destroy social habits that give substance to our present social life. Any

attempt to do this means working against the early impressions of childhood and is at violence with human nature.

Education conserves the past and prepares for the future. It especially adjusts life to the immediate situation with one eye on the experience of history and the other on the prospects of the future. The good school system takes into account the fact that those who pass from its influence into life must use their resources under circumstances different from those under which the educational program is constructed and managed. Education to be socially efficient can neither look backward and remove attention from the present, nor can it throw away the past and attempt to inaugurate social behavior at variance with the continuity that necessarily rests upon the handing on, from generation to generation, of social habits. A progressive educational program tries to help in the making of necessary social adjustments. When it fails, painful experience is the only remaining way of forming new adjustments of social habits. It is the proper business of education to reduce to a minimum these social experiences that announce through human suffering that the social habits of the group have gotten out of adjustment and do not satisfactorily minister to the common good.

Social progress requires preparation through the processes of instruction. To promote progress, the school has to train the young in a way that will permit them, when they become adults, to develop more advantageous social behavior than that characteristic of their parents' generation.

The good teacher strives to give an education that will prepare for constant changes of social adjustment. He teaches in such a fashion as to stimulate the original tendencies of the child, and is not satisfied merely to obtain

reproduction. This is one of the greatest social services education ever performs. It permits the trained person to have a sympathetic but discriminating attitude toward social habits and a basis for adjustment.

Topics for Discussion

1. What is habit?
2. Illustrate the two aspects of habit.
3. What is the harm of habits of day-dreaming?
4. Why is it difficult for one to know and judge his own habits?
5. How does pain act as a critic of habits?
6. How do habits limit social reform?
7. How does social progress become possible in spite of the obstruction of social habits?
8. To what extent is education a cause of social progress?

Topics for Reports

1. The habit development of the baby.
2. The habit training of school children.
3. John Dewey's treatment of habit.
4. Emotional preparation for habit formation in younger children.
5. Case studies of laziness in schools.
6. Habit and social unity.
7. Thomas' interpretation of crisis.
8. Historic misinterpretation of the failures of social custom.
9. Education as a conscious process of social progress.

Supplementary Readings

Dewey, J., *Human Nature and Conduct, Part 1,* Henry Holt, New York, 1922.

Edman, I., *Human Traits and their Social Significance, ch. 2,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920.

Edwards, A. S., *The Fundamental Principles of Learning and Study, ch. 4,* Warwick & York, Baltimore, 1920.

James, W., *Psychology, Briefer Course, ch. 10,* Henry Holt, New York, 1900.

Myerson, A., *The Foundations of Personality, ch. 3,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1921.

Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change, pp. 173-80,* B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1922.

Paton, S., *Human Behavior, ch. 9,* Scribner's, New York, 1921.

Watson, J. B., *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist, chs. 8, 9,* Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1919.

Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology, ch. 15,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924.

Blanchard, P., and Paynter, Jr., R. H., *The Problem Child,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 8, pp. 26-54, Jan., 1924.

CHAPTER V

Emotional Basis of Social Conflict

The tremendous influence that emotion has upon human conduct is generally recognized. However much we pride ourselves upon will and however strongly we stress judgment in our analysis of our actions, our associates clearly see that we usually conform to our emotional life and act under its sway. Our activities are mostly to satisfy emotional demands. It is emotional pressure that stirs us to the actions that we explain or defend by the process of rationalization.

By emotion is meant the feeling side of our impulsive tendencies, hereditary in origin, and closely related to body states, especially visceral and glandular. The emotion is pleasant or unpleasant. It accompanies changes that take place in the body. The emotional reaction that is connected with some specific experience also enters memory and thus provision is made for the association of ideas with emotional states. This association permits us to profit from our emotional experience, since the emotional response accompanying some definite behavior is remembered, and upon a second occasion when we are tempted to repeat the act the thought of our first reaction will either enforce our desire to act or obstruct it. Emotion is the reacting element in consciousness that is connected with impulses and their modifications, habits.

The emotional life of the little child is simple and spontaneous. His anger is instantly and freely expressed. His fears as well as his joys show themselves at once for there is neither desire nor power on his part to withhold them.

Each emotion expresses itself freely with no inner effort of control and is followed by the succeeding emotion which spends itself without any inner protest on the part of the child. Each impulse comes and goes without greatly modifying other succeeding impulses. Each merely claims the central place in consciousness for its brief period and then gives way to its successor.

Parents, however, are by no means indifferent to these various emotional reactions and impulsive acts. They discriminate and try to teach the child to suppress, to control, to magnify this reaction, that impulsive act. Thus early the child's impulsive behavior meets with criticism and approbation and a foundation is laid for an increasing control of his impulsive life as the child matures.

The child's period of unrestrained self-expression is brief indeed. He quickly finds it to his advantage to react or to seem to react as the adult world demands of him. This modification of his crude, unrestrained emotions as the result of adult interference is the beginning of the child's social training. Now arises the possibility of emotional conflicts. For the first time the swelling emotion awakens the need of restraint as memory brings to consciousness the recollection of the after-effects of a similar emotional outburst in the past. The child begins to sense the fact that if he acts as he feels his expression will meet with disapprobation, perhaps with punishment. He holds back. He minimizes his feelings. He conceals them. He gets rid of them by the process of recollecting past experience that smothers the developing emotion. In any case the emotion occasionally is checked by inner states of mind. Thus is inaugurated a new mode of behavior, a control of emotional attitude. The child is now on the highway that leads to the well-disciplined, law-abiding adult character.

But there are before his advancing feet many pitfalls. He may suppress his emotions too deeply, never allowing the most boisterous any conscious outlet. He may permit the emotions to gather strength and merely keep them from outward normal expression. He may seek to stimulate the emotions and then conceal as far as possible their discharge, finding hidden and unsuspected methods of working out his feelings.

With so many possibilities of mishaps in the emotional realm it is natural enough that with the child's first efforts at self-restraint should come also the risk of conflicts within the self. The adult's mental and social conflicts, including those usually called moral, originate in emotional disturbances, which, traced to their first appearance, generally go back into childhood to some specific occurrence. As a result of unwise treatment or lack of insight the child met an emotional situation in an unfortunate manner, with results that linger on into the adult period. Such events are likely to add to their baneful influence by interfering from time to time with other experiences in such a way as to bring about an interlinked chain of conflicts, each related to the preceding, and eventually leading backward to the original conflict.

The most serious conflicts, those that deserve the designation pathological, show themselves in neuroses. It is very important that parents and teachers realize that these extreme manifestations of emotional conflict are merely disorders of normal emotions. In the average child conflicts arise in early childhood that may lead to serious neurotic conditions or badly adjusted conduct. It is certain that the neurosis involves in its originating conflict no peculiar emotion or uncommon form of conflict. The distinction between a minor conflict and one that leads to a pathological mental catastrophe is primarily the re-

action of the child to the event provoking the conflict, and the influence upon him of his reaction.[1]

In our study of emotional conflicts and their influence upon personality we are necessarily forced to emphasize those of childhood since in this period alone do we see them in simple form and openly expressed. We seek to get the emotional elements in their most simple form and this means investigating them as they manifest themselves in childhood. At this time we can most easily recognize the first effect of family interference and adult attempts to educate and mould the spontaneous emotional responses.

Education assumes the impressionableness of the child's emotional nature. It is universally recognized that the child in his first few years is more sensitive to the influences that come upon him and particularly to those that have to do with his emotions. His first impressions are naturally the most impressive and long-lasting. It is this consequential character of early emotional experiences that makes the work of the parent and the teacher in the elementary schools so important. What happens to the child in the first coming-out of his emotional life is bound to have greater influence upon his adult behavior than will any ordinary experiences after his earliest years. To a larger degree than we have in the past realized, the child who enters school has already received emotional experiences that condition the work of the school and his later success in life.

From a wide experience in diagnosing cases of juvenile delinquency Doctor William Healy[2] of the Judge Baker Foundation, Boston, has gathered a vast amount of case

(1) Forsyth, D., The Rudiments of Character, The Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 8, pp. 117-18, April, 1921.

(2) Healy, W., Mental Conflict and Misconduct.

material which demonstrates the decisive influence that mental conflict may have upon conduct. Dr. Healy declares that the mental conflict is essentially emotional in character and comes about as a result of disturbances due to conflicting elements in the inner life of the child. These conflicts most easily originate in early childhood. They are frequently concealed from relatives and friends and may therefore be unsuspected by the child's adult associates. They may result from a mental shock. They may occur as the product of outward experiences or they may issue from the child's inner thought. They may be repressed as well as hidden and even driven from the child's consciousness. By the process of repression the child does not however escape their influence. Indeed, it generally seems that the child suffers most from them when he reacts toward them with such intense fear that they are forced out of his ordinary thought and remain in him dissociated from the normal mental content. Repression may show itself either in results that appear in the organism of the child or which find expression in unwholesome conduct.

These emotional disturbances often have to do with sex in one form or another but in Doctor Healy's experience sex is not the only cause of difficulty. It is natural enough that sex should have a very large place in emotional disturbances for sex necessarily receives more social repression than do the other instincts. It has about it also a mystery that instils curiosity. Frequently it is first introduced into the life of the child by an older playmate in a way to make it seem morbid and different from all the other experiences of the child. Thus the subject of sex is made to stand by itself, and in the case of the young girl especially is reacted to by alternating attitudes of fascination, expressed in imagery and curiosity, and violent repression and hostility. If parents gave to the child any

reasonable degree of help these dangerous disturbances centering on sex would less often occur. But as a matter of fact the parent usually lacks either the capacity or the insight to help the child through his difficulty. The wonder is therefore not that sex has so large a place in the emotional disturbances of childhood but rather that so many children pass through the danger without any evil consequences.

Dr. Healy has found the following to be the most prolific causes of emotional disturbance.

(1) The child's doubt regarding his own parentage. This uncertainty concerning parentage has for the child a much greater emotional content than the adult usually appreciates. Apparently parentage is a matter that to the child has supreme emotional significance. Any doubt regarding his parents, the discovery that those whom he has considered his parents are not, leads to an emotional upheaval and frequently to bad conduct. Jealousy that gathers about a step-parent also acts as does uncertainty regarding parentage.

(2) If the child finds out or suspects that those whom he has most trusted have deceived him and lied to him he is liable to an emotional conflict.

(3) Sex as the disturbing cause. It is not the physical side of sex, the newly awakened instinct, but rather its mental elements, the mystery placed about it, the unnatural and excessive reactions of parents and teachers to harmless questions and interest on the part of the child that causes the trouble. Often what is mostly curiosity concerning sex, and not sex in any proper sense, is treated by the adult as an evil in itself and by this reception it is naturally more impressed upon the child. With the attention driven to the new and mysterious interest, the child has no outlet, no method of correlating this experience

with the rest of his life. In this fashion society brings into his life a discordant, even dissociated, element and treats all his efforts to recover his unity with suspicion. The consequence is, of course, an unnatural, unnecessary emotional reaction and conflict.

We who have to do with children need to remember that the same civilization that attempts to repress the child's curiosity concerning sex is also at work constantly, in myriad forms, stimulating this very same curiosity. This situation is one loaded with danger for the child. It is fortunate that wise parents are beginning to see clearly the peculiar position in which modern life places the boy and girl, and by assuming the full responsibility of parents are largely eliminating the dangerous emotional attitudes that children, unprotected and unassisted, easily form concerning sex.

(4) Sensitive children may start an emotional conflict from harsh treatment or false accusation from those to whom they naturally look for affection and sympathy. Such experiences sometimes lead the child to view all people with suspicion and to hide his inner self forever after from his associates. An emotional upset of this kind may penetrate very deeply into the child's inner life and poison the affections themselves.

(5) Loneliness, homesickness, speech defects, deformities, unfortunate family reputation and such physical conditions as bladder defect may cause emotional disturbance. Doctor Healy considers this group especially dangerous since they frequently bring about positive anti-social and vindictive attitudes.[1]

Recently a successful business woman came for advice regarding the condition of her elder daughter. The girl, who was seventeen years of age, had within a year or two

(1) Healy, W., Individual Delinquent, p. 357.

become a great trial to the mother. Although previously a very good scholar at high school she lost all interest in her studies and finally refused to go to school. She also had been very fond of music, and for her age was a remarkably good pianist. But now she gave up her music lessons, and would not touch the piano. She took to being away from home a good deal, especially at night, and the mother was naturally very concerned. The mother was a hardworking and very efficient manager of a successful business. The husband had been dead some ten years. In the process of examination it was revealed that the girl had suffered some years from enuresis, which had been unsuccessfully treated by several doctors. At this point it seemed necessary, before going on with any sociological diagnosis, that the daughter's physical difficulty receive expert medical attention. An appointment was made with a specialist. Meanwhile additional conversation with the mother revealed in her a critical attitude toward the child, which at least in part was due to a misunderstanding of the nature of the adolescent experience. It seemed necessary to discuss with the mother in some detail the meaning of adolescent conflict. The daughter's physical difficulty was very quickly cured. To the surprise of the mother the girl's behavior immediately changed and further consultation became unnecessary. The daughter eagerly went back to school and carried on her work with her former success, and at the end of the school year obtained a very good position as pianist for a fashionable summer camp. A year later she was still meeting life successfully. The information obtained regarding the case, and the immediate success following the treatment of the medical difficulty made it seem that this was a case of inferiority complex due to shame as a result of an infantile physical condition. The case was handled on that basis,

and so far as known no other change occurred in the environment. The immediate improvement of condition indicated that the diagnosis was correct.

It is evident, as one would expect, that the home is the institution that can most often originate and best prevent emotional disturbance. In the home, life is familiar and intimate. Parents may do and say to the children what no one else would dare say or do. The child, especially when he is sensitive, is keenly susceptible to family situations. His pride is easily hurt when the home appears inadequate or poverty-stricken or when either parent has a reputation of which he is ashamed. It follows therefore that many of our childhood conflicts originate in unfortunate homes. Testimony to this fact is multiplying, gathered by all who have to do with pathological problems of conduct. The baneful influence of the unwholesome home shows itself in juvenile delinquency and adult crime. It is also revealed in the history of patients who suffer from nervous breakdowns and mental maladies.

Although childhood conflicts are primary and most serious, emotional disturbances are possible at any period in life. For some years the author has been called upon for help by college students who have been suffering from emotional upheavals. The period of time represented by these cases has been for the most part the last years of adolescence. Very serious cases have been directed to the psychiatrist and the full explanation of their difficulty is not known. Doubtless the psychiatrist has found most of these patients suffering emotionally from disturbances that started in the beginning of childhood.

Students who have been disturbed, but not to the degree of pathological disorder, have most commonly reacted to the following adolescent situations.

(1) Unreasonable restriction. The adolescent seeks greater independence and greater freedom. This is one of the essential elements of adolescence and is instinctive in origin. Most homes provide this greater liberty either because of inability to curb the youth's demand for more self-assertion or in the case of the better homes because of a recognition of the significance of the new demands of the youth. Some parents and guardians, however, instead of gradually freeing the youth and preparing him for self-responsibility, increase the control and undertake to deal with the situation as if it were a moral insurrection. Naturally the child rebels, at least inwardly, and at once commences a severe emotional struggle. Wise bringing up provides for this inevitable assumption of self-direction by the youth. In those cases in which the parents, one or both, war upon the youth's new inclinations, the winning of freedom becomes for the adolescent an apparent repudiation of the home. All the ties of affection protest against this. The instincts are insistent. It is no wonder that great emotional stress results.

(2) Another cause of difficulty is shame, especially in regard to the parents or home. This has with the adolescent much the same results as with the child. It is likely to be less serious, for necessarily the meaning of the experience is tempered by a larger outlook upon life.

(3) Undisciplined impulses also cause a great deal of adolescent disturbance. Impulses have to be disciplined. How much, is the question. We can over-discipline them as well as under-discipline them. The only trustworthy discipline must come from within, the product of proper moral education. The parent and teacher need to remember that the child often lacks judgment rather than a sense of responsibility. Judgment is largely a matter of experience; responsibility is a virtue. Training in judgment is

a larger service than the forcing of obedience. Parents who exercise strict control over the child but who have given no attention to the development of self-reliance may find that the child escapes from them at adolescence and is altogether unfitted for self-responsibility because of the vast quantity of his undisciplined impulses. Then the youth begins to reap the results of his bad training and in the college period he begins to learn from bitter experience the need of self-control.

(4) Vanity, pronounced sensitiveness by those in its grip, is another cause of emotional disturbance at college. The term vanity is used to cover a large number of different products of the instinct of self-assertion. Frequently these expressions of conceit or vanity are at heart reactions against ideas of inferiority. The difficulty comes when the individual, fattened with vanity, enters a group life such as that of college or business. He may have been protected previously from the inevitable social consequences of his attitude and now for the first time he experiences the hostility of a group determined to make him take his proper place. The only child and the spoiled child are particularly apt to get too good an opinion of themselves. When the youth feels the social attack and realizes that his claims are being stripped from him, he either aggressively struggles to win back his former pride or retreats within himself and attempts to conceal how deeply he is hurt. This latter reaction is especially dangerous, since it may lead to bitterness and the withdrawal, if circumstances permit, from the contests of life. Those who have been put through the ordeal of giving up their self-conceit may believe themselves misunderstood or more frequently, when they are victims of bad training for life, may throw aside all sense of self-importance and become as timid as previously they were self-confident.

(5) Another common cause of emotional difficulty in the late adolescent period is due to changes in religious belief. Childhood faith, like other infantile experiences, normally has to change and mature. "When I became a man I put away childish things" writes Saint Paul, but many there are who have not in any orderly and natural way shared his experience. They cling to their childhood attitudes until they are shocked into letting go. This type of person is one who loses his religious confidence as a result of a more accurate knowledge of science. It must be confessed that not all teachers are constructive in their interpretation of science; some few positively enjoy upsetting a student's confidence. In religion as in no other place, the proper home training assists the youth in passing through new experiences without risk. When the religious teaching has been rigid and morbid and hostile to science, then a basis is laid for an emotional upheaval when the young man or woman encounters new truth and has to deepen and reorganize the faith of his first years.

(6) Another very common cause of emotional conflict in the later portion of adolescence is the idea that one is unattractive. This is almost exclusively a young women's problem. It has without question many different sources. It frequently comes when the girl has matured more rapidly than her associates. Since the girl usually in the high school period is more mature than her boy associates any additional maturing is a real handicap that may limit her contacts with the boys of her own age. If she finds herself unpopular or merely neglected socially she becomes doubtful of herself and inwardly loses social confidence. Then she becomes more and more aloof and less natural. These attitudes in turn operate upon her as additional handicaps and she becomes "difficult to understand." She misses many social invitations and may retreat from

social contacts and endeavor to satisfy herself with girl friends and books. She perhaps develops into an amateur scholar or "grind" as her mates are likely to say, and this increases still more her social difficulties. By the time of high school graduation or when she is in college she may have constructed a program for life which assumes that she is lacking in attractiveness and can not expect to marry. Sooner or later her cravings for normal social contacts will break through her laboriously constructed life-policy and her deeper nature will protest against her predicament. Then is bound to come a tremendous emotional outburst. The same result follows occasionally if for the first time she discovers that she actually is becoming attractive to some young man. Both parent and teacher can do a great deal to prevent this feeling of unattractiveness by helping the over-matured girl to understand her situation and by guiding her and encouraging her in her efforts to win for herself a reasonable place in the social life of her group.

In an analysis of emotional conflict it is necessary to keep in mind the difference between two opposite types of personality. They are known as the extrovertive and the introvertive personalities. The extroverted person is interested in the life about him and is particularly aggressive and efficient in dealing with the concrete problems that present themselves to him. He is little concerned about his inner life and avoids speculation since it is something so foreign to his nature that he can not sympathize with it in the slightest degree. The environment stimulates action and he thoroughly occupies himself with enterprises of all sorts. Thus the extrovert is known as the man of action.

The introvert is the opposite type of personality. He is mostly interested in himself and to a large extent finds

dealing with the actual world difficult, in extreme cases even impossible. His general attitude toward reality is that of suspicion. From early childhood he has been a questioner and has wanted to understand the meaning of things. Even in childhood the questions he asks indicate a skeptical attitude toward the value of life itself. The introvertive person is interested in the interpretation of life rather than the mastery of it. Introversion represents a flight from reality into the inner life. The world of ideas occupies the interests of the person. The introvert finds it difficult to deal with the concrete problem because of his desire to interpret it and give it its meaning, and this means adjusting it to the system of ideas which have such a large place in consciousness. As a result philosophizing takes the place of action. The introvert often expresses what seem to be extreme egoistic attitudes. This frequently is reaction to a deep-seated sense of inadequacy which may have all the characteristics of the inferiority complex.

Both types may develop their extreme characteristics to the point of abnormality. The extrovert may be so embedded in the environment as to be without stability of personality, and in certain mental disorders this condition is found. On the other hand the introvert in insanity is a shut-in personality that has constructed an inner life of unreality as a result of completely divorcing the self from actual conditions of life.

Although both introversion and extroversion represent extremes in human reaction, every individual naturally tends toward the one or the other. It is the business of education to assist each type to develop its strength and avoid the weakness of excessive characteristic reaction. The introvert, for example, who discovers his natural tendency and strengthens as far as possible his contact with

the world becomes particularly efficient in dealing with certain aspects of life. The career of Darwin suggests an introverted personality and Kempf shows us how Darwin's scientific attainments were stimulated by his personal experience. There can not however be doubt that Darwin developed to a remarkable degree accurate observation which was the basis of his introvertive speculations.[1] Napoleon, one of the most efficient personalities of history, has been grouped amongst the introverts. The present tendency in social life is to discount the value of the introvert and as a result there has developed rather widespread opinion that the introvert is necessarily pathological. This judgment is contrary to fact. The introvert when socialized contributes as usefully to social life as does the extrovert. In dealing with children it is a great advantage to be able to tell in which group each individual belongs. This permits the teacher or parent to handle the child more skillfully and at the same time to point out the weakness and the strength of the personality.

A girl of six years spends much of her time in the rôle of Queen Bess. She ignores intruders, calling her imaginary associates by name and only with difficulty withdrawing from her world of fancy to attend to the realities of the adult world which encompasses her. Tested by the Terman revision of the Binet intelligence tests she receives a mental rating of eight years, but can not do the four-year tests in muscular coördination, such as tying a shoelace in a bow knot.

A four-year-old boy can not bear any kind of make-believe story. Shown a beautiful picture, full of action, which appeals to his mates, he asks how much the frame cost, and how the corners were put together.

---

(1) Kempf, E. J., Psychopathology, ch. 6.

A three-year-old girl found her keenest delight in the doings of her "little dirls" whose every activity she discussed in detail with her parents and the elder sister, whose daily absence at school left her so much alone. In adult life she can recall the red brick house around the corner, where her imaginary babies lived, far more vividly than the house in which she herself lived, and remembers the pride and affection she felt for her three little make-believe children as clearly as her feeling for her best-loved dollies.

It is easy to see that these three children would not need identical treatment on the part of parents and teachers. Often personalities of the two opposing types, extrovert and introvert, are found in children of the same family. The experience of the parents in dealing with their first-born helps them little when the second child develops such widely differing traits. What one child likes best, the other ignores; what is punishment for one is a source of delight to the other. Isolation is to the introvertive child an opportunity to indulge in his phantasies; to the extrovertive child it may mean real suffering. Manual labor imposed on the introvert may be most irksome, especially if it requires a concentration on the task itself that prevents his linking it with his phantasies; the extrovert finds joy in activity, work as well as play.

Topics for Discussion

1. What is emotion?
2. How do children show their emotion?
3. What motives lead the child to emotional restraint?
4. Why do early emotional experiences so influence personality?
5. What is repression?
6. What are the chief causes of mental conflict?
7. How do mental conflicts show themselves in home behavior?

8. What are the principal causes of adolescent mental conflict?

9. What emotional conflicts are most common in college students?

10. What are the characteristics of the introvert? the extrovert?

Topics for Reports

1. The emotional development of the pre-school child.
2. Case studies of emotional disturbances of children.
3. The influence of home discipline upon school work.
4. Emotional conflicts of parents.
5. The shut-in child.
6. Sex as a cause of emotional conflicts.
7. Sex education in the school program.
8. Sex problems in school life.
9. Healy's investigations of mental conflict.
10. Adolescent mental conflict.
11. Mental conflict in colleges and normal schools.
12. Conflict experiences most common to teachers.
13. The analysis of mental conflict.
14. Mental conflict and misconduct.
15. Pathological causes of mental conflict.
16. Influence of introversion in history.
17. Extroversion and modern industry.

Supplementary Readings

Cannon, W. B., *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage,* Appleton, New York, 1915.

Crile, G. W. and Crile, W., *The Origin and Nature of the Emotions,* Saunders Co., Philadelphia, 1915.

Freud, S., *Totem and Taboo, ch. 2,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1918.

Gosline, H. I., *Personality from the Introspective Viewpoint,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 15, pp. 36-45, April, 1920.

Groves, E. R., *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare, chs. 7, 8,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922.

Hart, B., *The Psychology of Insanity, ch. 6,* Cambridge University Press, London, 1920.

Healy, W., *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1917.

Jewett, S. P. and Blanchard, P., *Influence of Affective Disturbances on Responses to the Stanford-Binet Test,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 6, pp. 39-56, Jan., 1922.

Kammerer, P. G., *The Unmarried Mother, ch. 11,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1918.

Nicoll, M., *Dream Psychology, chs. 14, 15,* Oxford University Press, London, 1920.

Sands, I. J. and Blanchard, P., *Abnormal Behavior, ch. 2,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1923.

Schafer, E. A., *The Endocrine Organs,* Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1916.

Tansley, A. G., *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, ch. 10,* Allen & Unwin, London, 1920.

Watson, J. B., *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist, ch. 6,* Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1919.

White, W. A., *Mechanisms of Character Formation, chs. 4, 10,* Macmillan, New York, 1916.

White, W. A., *Foundations of Psychiatry, chs. 3, 8,* Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series No. 32, Washington, D. C. 1921.

Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology, ch. 4,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924.

Brierley, Susan, *An Introduction to Psychology, ch. 9,* Methuen, London, 1923.

Wells, F. L., *Pleasure and Behavior, ch. 7,* Appleton, New York, 1924.

Travis, L. E., *Mental Conflicts as the Cause of Bad Spelling and Poor Writing,* Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. II, pp. 15-80, April, 1924.

CHAPTER VI

The Social Significance of Fear

All observers of human conduct have appreciated the importance of the instinct of fear. In its most violent expressions of terror no instinct shows greater strength. The instinct particularly shows itself in animal life so that the very atmosphere of animal existence seems to be largely characterized by fear. In savage life, also, as travelers and investigators constantly remind us, fear occupies a tremendous place. There are numberless illustrations of the power of fear to produce even death by processes that seem to be entirely psychic in origin. For example, the savage has been known to eat the food which he happened to find in the woods, but which later he discovered to be a portion of the meal of the king, and therefore, like all things with which the king had contact, taboo. Upon being informed of his accidental infringement of the rule of his tribe, the savage became so terror-stricken as to die within a few hours. The same tremendous influence of fear shows itself occasionally in the life of the savage child. Here is the case of a boy who was strong and healthy until one day he became ill and explained that he had been eating some food forbidden to him on account of his age, and that he had been discovered and realized that he could never grow up to be a man. He lay down, under the conviction that death was imminent, and never got up again, dying within three weeks. The operation of taboo in primitive society constantly illustrates the tremendous meaning of fear in the life of savages.

The value of fear for the animal is not to be questioned. The instinct leads him to act under most circumstances in the manner most favorable for his self-preservation. As with animals, so with pre-historic man, there must have been a considerable utility in the instinct of fear. Dark places, loud noises, unfamiliar circumstances, strange movements, open spaces were often situations that indicated danger, and it was of value to the primitive man to react against such happenings, under the influence of the instinct of fear. It is, however, a matter of discussion among psychologists as to whether fear in modern civilized society proves of advantage. As James has said, extreme fear often proves harmful and prevents one from escaping the impending danger. The tendency seems to be increasingly to discount the value of fear as an emotion in present social experience. The most extreme expressions of fear are found in the realm of mental disease, and suggest that terror is, by its very nature, in a degree pathological. James has said that civilized man in ordinary experiences never realizes the full meaning of fear, often going from the cradle to the grave without any personal knowledge of the full strength of the emotion.

Fear, like rage, has very great influence upon the body state. Adrenalin is thrown into the blood during the experience of fear; the main stream of blood is sent from the abdominal viscera to the muscles and the central nervous system; sugar appears in the blood, being liberated from the body reserve; and the fatigue of the muscles is retarded and reduced. These body-conditions in association with other minor ones serve to prepare the animal for his supreme exertion, whether he reacts to his danger by flight or by fighting.

In studying the reactions of fear in infancy, Professor Watson has demonstrated that the instinctive responses

of fear appear at birth. The infant feels fear, according to this authority, when support is withdrawn from him and the experimenter drops him so that he can be caught by an assistant. The infant also feels fear, says Watson, on hearing loud sounds, sometimes when given a slight push or shake when he is just falling asleep, and when, during the beginning of sleep, there is a sudden pulling of the blankets upon which he is lying. The responses under such circumstances are a sudden catching of the breath, the effort to clutch at random with the hands, the closing of the eye-lids, the puckering up of the lips, and then crying. Older children attempt flight, and if possible hide.

Students of savage society have given us classic descriptions of the expression of fear. The following quotation shows the state of fear which records itself upon bodily habits. In describing the Jakun or aboriginal Malayans, Skeat and Blagden write of their "never-ending struggle for existence first against the forces of nature, against hunger, disease, and a hundred forms of death, and later against the persecutions of man, thus faithfully mirroring the battle of the gigantic vegetation and dangerous beasts among which they lived. The shadow, the hall-mark of the primeval forest—at once their protector, their sustainer, and their grave—is burned into them, and shows itself in the restless motion and hunted expression of their eyes, and even in their very gait, for the great height to which they raise the foot in walking (a habit acquired in circumventing the continual obstacles that meet them in the undergrowth), and the careful deliberation with which they plant it on the ground, remain even when they come out into the open country, and expose them to much ridicule and cheap witticisms on the part of the Malays."(1)

(1) Skeat and Blagden, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, Vol. 1, p. 13.

In relating the initiation of the witch doctors of the natives of Southern Nigeria, Leonard illustrates the psychic influence of fear. "But there is another, the external and more tangible, side to it, which brings him into actual contact with the animal life of the forest, that, in combination with the fears which he himself has conjured up out of the hell of his imaginations, makes it all the more terrifying and terrible an ordeal. All the more so, because it seems to him as the realization of his inmost thoughts, and all that has been told him; therefore proof positive and infallible that spirits in various forms and embodiments, vegetal and animal, have visited him. Bound hand and foot, morally as well as physically, he becomes a prey not only to his own hideous fears, but to the animal life which teems all round and frequently all over him,—the driver ants, active, combative, and always on the move, whom nothing short of fire and water can stop once they set themselves in motion, pouring like a black torrent, every single atom of which is instinct with fierce vitality, through and over every obstacle; the restless red-tree ants, that, although always busy in the construction of their leafy domiciles, have yet time enough left to sting; the large and loathsome stink ants, that fill the air with their offensive effluvia; the bush cats, leopards, iguanas, and snakes, always on the look-out for victims with which to appease their hungry appetites. That the experiences which in this way befall him are often diabolical enough to upset the nerves of the bravest and strongest man, can well be imagined. So that when a novice emerges from the hellish ordeal with nerves shaken and courage intact, having undergone a probation so exacting, a process so hardening and sterilizing that it freezes up any of the milk of human kindness with which he may have been possessed into the cold hard ice of a deadly antipathy, he is well

qualified to become a fiend incarnate, who gloats over and revels in the flesh and blood of his own kith and kin."[1]

In mental diseases we find experiences that resemble in considerable detail savage reactions to fear. Formerly much of the behavior of patients suffering from mental illness was either ignored or misunderstood. We now know that these activities that appear so meaningless are oftentimes rehearsals of experiences of tremendous importance in the early life of the individual, and are likely to be related to earlier experiences of fear. A young woman suffering from psycho-neurosis was greatly helped by studying her strange ceremonial observances from the viewpoint of primitive society. She found herself repeating actions characteristic of primitive behavior. She also found that fear had much to do with her illness and was the force behind her strange conduct. In her own words, "Fear has been a predominant element in all my illness. Theoretically I would not have admitted that my God was pre-eminently a God to be feared and held in terror but all my practices were based upon that idea and I was ever afraid of offending and dishonoring Him; all my ceremonials partook of this fear and my whole life was pervaded by a sense of terror. Most distinct among my early experiences and impressions is this fear in the form of an ever present dread of death, which possessed me powerfully at the age of eight and thereafter, so that I was filled with dread anticipation as day drew to its close and lay awake in secret terror when night had actually come. This fear was with me all the years of my illness with also other manifestations of it, fear of injury in play, terror of rocks falling upon me, of being buried alive, of drowning, of any experience of being smothered, excessive fear

(1) Leonard, A. G., The Lower Niger and Its Tribes, p. 498

of snakes, all of these closely connected with the fear of death and the hereafter. Some of the more childish forms were partially left behind, but it is helpful now to find that these fears all belong to the infant and primitive mind, and to see them embodied in the simple animistic forms of these childish races, stripped of some of the awful value with which my distorted ideas and ceremonials were enveloping them."[1]

The most common reaction to fear is running away. There are, however, other characteristic modes of behavior, such as the attempt to escape by hiding. This we find commonly in animal life and also, as everyone knows, in the behavior of children. Another reaction is similar to the second. It is the attempt of the animal to remain silent. This also is characteristic of human behavior, for frequently one of the first impulses of a person much afraid is to remain motionless and if possible to produce not the slightest sound. We find, both in animal and in man, a tendency when under the emotion of fear to cling, as the drowning man clings to anything within reach, or the child to its mother. Another variety of fear reaction is the shrinking or starting back. This one easily observes in the behavior of a horse frightened by the sudden appearing of a strange object. In the same way a human being shrinks from the edge of a high cliff or from some terrifying object. Some children react in this way to unfamiliar persons. Another animal reaction which has received considerable attention because of its clear advantage to the frightened animal is the paralysis which causes the animal to remain motionless. This is particularly likely to occur when there is no possibility of running away. We also have, especially in children, the cry of fear, the instinctive

(1) Jelliffe, S. E., and X., Z, "Compulsion Neurosis and Primitive Culture," Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 1, p. 384, Oct., 1914.

attempt to call for help or protection. Hudson reports a case, when having driven away a weasel from her young, the baby weasels continued to cry out in shrill voices and move about in circles, making not the slightest attempt to escape or to conceal themselves after the manner of birds.[2]

Fear in modern life tends to move away from the objective stimulating outside condition and more and more to have to do with the inward state of mind. In other words the emotional element comes to have a greater significance than the inciting instinct. As a result of this, fear as we find it in our present life has much to do with our ideas; and a large part of such fear as is commonly experienced originates from the thoughts that appear in consciousness rather than from actual situations in the outer environment that need to be reacted to in such a way as to protect one from danger. This change of emphasis leads to the magnifying of the social causes that bring about fear, and also of the social consequences of the fear produced. It is by changing fear from having to do with experiences that endanger the physical existence of the human being and tying them up with the dangers that threaten the happiness or prestige or relationships of modern man that the decrease in intensity of the instinct has been brought about.

Even in pathological expressions of fear we find behavior which shows the influence of modern social conditions. For example, patients suffering from fear of dirt are frequently comfortable so long as everything and everybody round about remains still. If any movement is made which stirs up dust, they immediately react with discomfort. They shake their clothing every few moments. Or perhaps they

(2) Hudson, W. H., "The Naturalist in La Plata," chap. 6, p. 104.

are afraid of making any contact lest they get dirt upon their hands. One such patient was terror-stricken unless he wore gloves. They have been known to react against this fear of dirt to such an extent as to wash fifty times or more a day, in some cases actually producing sores. They are often fully capable of realizing the irrationality of their behavior, but even though they are told repeatedly that they make themselves more liable to infection by their much washing, they continue nevertheless.

We have milder expressions of the same abnormal fear on the part of persons who are frightened when they find themselves in a church or theater with a crowd of people, or crossing a bridge, or passing through a tunnel, or even confined within an ordinary room or a railroad carriage. There are individuals who fear blushing when they meet strangers, and who naturally therefore do blush.

The emotional quality of fear shows itself often, as common thought recognizes, in the dream. The dream of terror, the nightmare, is a familiar experience to all. It is particularly found in children and there can not be doubt of the intensity of the emotion which is passing through the sleeping consciousness. Often when one has passed safely through a grave danger, the experience will be repeated in one form or another over a considerable period of time in the dreams. This has been a common occurrence in persons suffering from so-called shell shock in the late war. They have been known to rehearse in detail the experience of shock. Children very commonly jump up from bed and cry in terror. If one watches them he sees evidences of the profound disturbance which without doubt is often connected with organic conditions, although it expresses itself in psychic phenomena. It has at times been found that the soldier who, exposed to danger, apparently has no consciousness of fear and therefore

behaves with the utmost self-control, thereafter suffers severely from expressions of fear in his dreams. The man who faces physical danger in warfare and who suffers fear may repress it and attempt from shame to drive it from his mind. He may find, however, that the repression is not permanently successful. The fear comes back and is a second time repressed. Soon he becomes anxious lest he express fear and suffers that most dangerous state of mind, fear of fear. In this state of strain and anxiety he is liable to suffer from nightmare, faulty digestion, fatigue, until some new and perhaps slight stimulation brings about a crisis and he becomes a sufferer from anxiety neurosis. He is no longer of value as a soldier. Whether his condition develops into a more dangerous nervous breakdown, or finally passes, depends both upon his original temperament and the strength of the stress put upon him by his environment.

We find fear arising from all sorts of causes in present social experience. Suggestion is one of the many ways in which fear is produced, and perhaps the most common form of such suggestion is fear with reference to health. This has so much significance that it is recognized by all physicians who understand human conduct, that real suffering may originate from an accidental, thoughtless suggestion. The person who thinks himself suffering from heart disease because of the careless suggestion of his physician may develop a good many symptoms of the malady and have as much difficulty as a result of his unfounded fear as if he were actually suffering from disease. This power of suggestion may be seen in all sorts of ideas regarding ill health. It is particularly important that the child be protected from such suggestions and it is unfortunate that doctors thoughtlessly make statements, overheard by children, which are taken to mean something different from

what is really intended or which are naturally exaggerated by the child's fear and lack of knowledge regarding the true state of affairs. It is certainly true that life-long hypochondria can originate in this fashion in the case of neurotic children.

One of the prolific causes of mental complexes is suggestions of fear. For example, a five-year-old child who sleeps out of doors and had never before been afraid of lightning, hearing an older child talk about a house that had been previously struck by lightning, reacted with fear at the next occurrence of a thunder storm. She came in from the sleeping porch to the presence of the father and said she wanted to be with him. The father had himself in earlier life suffered from fear of lightning, due to suggestions from his mother who reacted tremendously to thunderstorms, showing abject terror in the presence of her children. Anxious to protect his child from a similar experience, he felt that perhaps the best he could do for the child was to allow her to have a feeling of security and the realization that so far as he was concerned, there was no cause for fear. The child was therefore invited to lie down upon the couch in her father's study and was soon asleep. Some months after, when the next storm appeared, the mother going out to see whether the child was again afraid found her standing on her bed looking out at the storm. She remarked, "Mama, I didn't know there was blue around the edge of the lightning, just like the yellow around the candle." From that time on no evidence of fear has ever appeared and now the child has the habit of putting on her bathing suit during thunderstorms and going out in the rain and dancing on the lawn. Unquestionably, a complex had started, but fortunately in the atmosphere of perfect assurance it disappeared.

More than half a century ago a housekeeper, in the absence of a five-year-old boy's parents, sought to punish him effectually for a childish naughtiness of which she believed him guilty. She shut the little one up in a room at the top of the house, and told him he must live on bread and water until he confessed to having committed the misdemeanor of which she accused him. Unable to pretend a guilt that was not his, the little fellow lived alone in the third floor room for three days, when his parents unexpectedly returned home. A quarter of a century later the boy, now a happy father with two children of his own, received a letter from the old housekeeper asking forgiveness for her cruel treatment of the little five-year-old, and saying she had long since had positive proof of the child's innocence. In his sixtieth year the man had a serious illness during which he became delirious. He constantly implored his nurse to go with him up to the attic. Finally while she was out for exercise he persuaded his fifteen-year-old daughter to accompany him to the attic. Here he sat on a chest weeping, signed to the daughter to be perfectly quiet, and whispered, "They told me to come. They told me to come." He stayed in the attic, listening for outside sounds, weeping and softly moaning, "They told me to come," until the daughter prevailed on him to return to his bed lest the nurse find out that he had left it. During the rest of that day and on the next day the sick man tried unceasingly to get someone to go with him to the attic. He must go, he said, but he dared not go alone. While watching by his bedside during the night his eldest son heard the father say, "They wouldn't come near me. Nobody came. I listened and listened. Three days and three nights. A little room. All alone. Nobody came."

In lesser degree parents themselves have been known to punish or threaten to punish their little children in ways that are liable to be productive of lasting fear. The leaving of children alone in the house after dark, even though the children may be ten or twelve years old, seems to give rise to genuine emotions of fear which thereafter tend to accompany similar situations throughout adult life. This is especially striking in persons who feel not the slightest degree of fear in really dangerous positions, in an out-of-door environment.

A very interesting case of a thoroughly established fear complex extending over a long period of time and making great trouble has been given by Dr. Boris Sidis. A young Russian was troubled by periodic convulsions and paralysis of one part of the body. This condition had led to the diagnosis of epilepsy. Doctors Morton Prince and Boris Sidis, however, finally came to the conclusion that there was present no true organic disease. The first attack had appeared five years earlier when the patient was living in Russia. At that time he was sixteen years of age. After escorting a young lady home from a dance he returned to look for a ring which she had lost. It was after midnight and it was necessary for him in going back to pass by a cemetery. When passing the graveyard he thought he heard someone running after him. He turned to run, stumbled and lost consciousness. Upon coming to himself he found his arm, leg and head afflicted with an uncontrollable shaking. This continued for about a week, after which he appeared to be of normal health. From that time each year he had a similar attack. When hypnotized he went through the experience which led to his difficulty. It was possible also to bring on the attacks by simply recalling to memory during hypnosis what had happened to him before the first attack. The physicians

decided that his trouble was due to vivid subconscious memories of his earlier fear; and through suggestion he was brought back to normal conduct.

Worry is a mild form of fear characteristic of modern life. It is, like fear, often the result of suggestion and also many times expresses complexes unknown to the sufferer. It adds greatly to the strain of life. Good habits, especially during the formative period, can largely prevent it. One who has the habit of worrying is forever finding occasions for anxiety. Although again and again the worry is proved unnecessary and unreasonable, the habit continues. It not only leads to great loss of energy but also becomes a considerable burden for the relatives and associates. It is much easier to prevent the establishment of this bad attitude toward life than it is to cure it once it has become firmly fixed. A psycho-analytic understanding of the formation of the habit of worry frequently does a great deal to decrease the tendency toward anxiety.

Fear has a tendency to inhibit the operation of the mind. It fixes the attention and excludes other ideas. To some extent this appears in worry. One finds it impossible to keep his mind upon his work because he constantly runs over in consciousness the thought of the feared events. In much the same way that physical fear often paralyzes the subject, fear ideas limit the efficiency of the mind. It is therefore most unfortunate in any undertaking to dwell upon the risks involved, in the sense of reacting emotionally to the situation.

It must be pointed out that the parent is not denied the opportunity of teaching children to avoid danger because of the risk of creating fear. Danger can be treated as a purely intellectual matter. The harm comes when the child is led to an emotional reaction; when, for instance, stress is put upon the risk by rehearsing in detail con-

sequences that through the imagination of the child bring about emotional reactions. Children need to be taught the facts that involve risk. Formerly, however, parents often have added to this purely objective statement of fact a large quantity of emotion, believing that in that way the teaching could be more effectually impressed upon the child. If a child is treated as a reasonable being from early years there is no need of adding this emotional pressure, and by the wiser statement the child is freed from any likelihood of developing fear attitudes. It must not be forgotten that fear sometimes, by holding the attention, becomes a fascinating suggestion and brings the child under the domination of the very thing which he is trying to avoid.

Any sense of inferiority can operate upon the growing child to bring about reactions of fear. It is also true that by frightening the child a degree of inferiority can be produced. One of the consequences of the inferiority complex is its perpetual stirring up of fear. This emotional reaction may become so strong and so persistent as to make it difficult for the sufferer to put his attention upon anything except his own sense of impotency. As a result he becomes weak, not so much because of the original difficulty, but because of the operation of the associated fear. It is very important, particularly in the schoolroom, that no recourse, for purposes of discipline, be made to the stirring up of the fear emotion. It is not possible for fear to be brought to a specific experience and held there. The risk is that it spread into other experiences, one fear producing another until a whole series of fear reactions organize themselves into a completed complex and as a result influence the life persistently. It is interesting to see the ambivalence that exists with reference to fear and anger. Generally if fear enters consciousness, anger turns

aside. If, however, the fleeing person becomes angry he is likely to stop and fight, and by that process loses his fear. Anger suggests self-assertion; fear, self-retreat. It is a common experience to find fear in circumstances of great danger absolutely disappearing with the development of stronger feelings of hostility.

Fear also is connected frequently with sex. This comes about especially in the case of the woman who has been so badly prepared for life that her whole sex nature becomes a thing of mystery and of fear. Under such circumstances it is not strange that occasionally when through marriage she enters in contact with sex as a reality that can not be repressed from experience, she finds herself in the clutches of fear. It is particularly unfortunate that such occurrences should come about at the beginning of such a relationship as marriage, for there is necessarily great opportunity in the situation for a misunderstanding that will hamper the development of good comradeship and enduring affection. As is shown in the chapter on sex, the training of the home may be such as to make any morbid association of fear and sex practically impossible. Without doubt the new attitude which treats the sex element of life educationally in much the same way as any of the great concerns of man's social life will prove an enormously helpful thing in conserving marriage happiness and eliminating fear from an artificial connection with the profound instinct of sex.

Fear, to some extent, shows itself differently in city and rural environment. Country people suffer from isolation; and there are timid people in that environment who have impressive fear experiences, particularly at night. Children especially are afraid as a result of having to travel lonely roads alone in the dark. They are often told stories that make very deep impressions and stir up

enduring fear No parent can be too careful to prevent this from happening in the case of his own children. The teacher also should remember that by furnishing to his children abiding interests he can largely prevent in them, as they mature, the morbid tendency that telling weird stories to younger children represents, since that is often the result of lives barren of mental or emotional interests.

In the urban environment fear gathers about contact with people. One often becomes afraid of crowds, of hold-ups, robberies and the like. The newspapers suggest fear constantly by their rehearsal of sensational criminal activities. One who is alone in the city sometimes feels a sense of fear that amounts almost to terror. Country people unfamiliar with city life are more especially prone to this experience, although under certain circumstances it comes to the most urban-minded. The sudden loss of funds or impending illness in a strange city before contacts have been established is usually able to rouse an enthralling wave of terror, which soon proves itself largely emotional in basis as it recedes before the sweeping back of the person's habitual poise. It not infrequently happens that a person who is not only city-bred but city-minded, widely traveled and of adventurous spirit, after a dozen years more or less of life spent unwillingly in the country revisits his favorite metropolitan center for a protracted stay, only to find himself bewildered by the increased volume and changed methods of handling traffic, upset by the tremendous change from his quiet life in the country, and altogether unnerved by the noise and hustle of the once-loved city. Instead of being able to enjoy the long-wished-for sojourn in the city, his new-found timidity may even drive the unwilling countryman back to his quiet home after but a few days of city life instead of the weeks or months he had planned.

In industry we find a great deal of fear, especially amongst the working class the fear of losing one's job, the fear of shut-downs, etc. Much of the trouble between capital and labor is the result of fear. The capitalist fears the encroachment of labor and the laboring man is constantly anxious, lest the capitalist make it impossible for him to earn a fair living. If the working man could be sure of his job, he would be much more content. The manufacturer, on the other hand, sometimes feels that by making employment insecure, the worker will be stimulated to greater production than otherwise would be possible. Perhaps fear can be so used as a stimulant, but all attempts to control human nature by fear lead to such negative self-feeling that restlessness is bound to follow and in the end the stimulant fails to be successful. Contented workers are better workers than men driven by fear. One of the tasks of modern industry is to remove from the worker the great amount of fear now experienced by him. In some way unemployment must be solved. In so far as capitalism creates fear, it is in the long run working against its own existence.

Mankind has always made use of fear of infringement of law for purposes of social control. It is questionable to what extent this process of control is successful today. History demonstrates that by multiplying penalties and inflicting very severe punishment crime is not decreased. As social evolution progresses, less and less stress will be put upon fear even as a means of preventing crime.

Running through history is evidence of the value human nature puts upon courage. In many respects it has been in the past the most honored of all social virtues. It may be that this represents relics of the period when physical warfare had such an overwhelming importance. As hand to hand combat decreases, and perhaps happily war itself

as an experience of human association, physical courage is likely to be less and less emphasized. It certainly does not deserve the social attention it has received up to the present. Society prospers much more on moral courage. Greater suffering comes to the group at present from lack of courage in mental and moral attitudes than from deficiency in physical courage. It was interesting recently to hear Sir Basil Thomson, former director of Scotland Yard, declare that when the war broke out nearly all the desperate, habitual criminals of England, who were guilty of crime of a major sort, enlisted voluntarily and served with great courage through the war. He expressed the opinion that this was to be expected, since he had always felt that the burglar, for example, is naturally a man of courage. This is a striking evidence of the fact that physical courage may easily be anti-social and that wholesome society can not be satisfied merely with instilling in its citizens the need of courage. The bigger task is to turn courage into productive channels.

Education increasingly places emphasis upon mental and moral courage. The influence of modern life in creating attitudes that make exhibitions of physical courage more and more reluctant in the sensitive type of person showed itself very clearly in the late war. A great deal of "shell shock," so-called, was due to the struggle of highly civilized human beings trying to reduce themselves to a type of courage which had become for them exceedingly difficult. Such persons certainly were not necessarily cowards. In the moral and intellectual realm they may have been courageous to an extreme degree.

Since man is naturally so conservative, so unwilling to face new circumstances, the kind of courage that needs especially to be emphasized by education is that of the intellectual and moral type. A great deal of social retarda-

tion is built upon this inherent tendency of man to let things be as they are rather than to think his way into more advantageous circumstances. The conservative person often fears thinking because it makes possible the danger of new adjustment. This comes out very clearly in the experience of the savage. A typical illustration is given by Williamson. "One thing which impressed me in New Guinea, and especially near Port Moresby and in the Roro and Mekeo districts, where the people have been for so long in constant contact with white men, is the extreme conservatism of its inhabitants. In these districts more in touch with civilization, you find European axes and knives; the adzes are often fitted with plane-irons, instead of with cutting-stones. Various other white man's productions have found their way into the villages, and some of the old superstitious practices and ceremonies have died away. But as regards dress, mode of life, clan and social systems, the construction of their houses and forms of their villages, and many of their ceremonies and superstitions, these people are today substantially the same as they must have been before the white man's influence had been brought to bear upon them; and when you get into the mountains, you are among a people practically untouched by civilization."(1)

Education must accept the task both of removing as far as possible from man the element of fear and also of instilling in man positive courage which will give him the impetus to tackle new undertakings, adventure with truth, cast aside worn out superstitions, and develop the disposition to face reality squarely even if it means the painful necessity of changing old habits for new.

(1) Williamson, R. W., The Ways of the South Sea Savage, p. 118.

Topics for Discussion

1. What is the meaning of the taboo in savage society?
2. What is the biological value of fear in animals and in primitive man's evolution?
3. Is fear of value to modern man?
4. How does fear show itself in infancy?
5. What are the physical effects of fear?
6. What is pathological fear?
7. What are the different expressions of fear?
8. How does fear show itself in dreams?
9. What influence has suggestion upon fear?
10. What are the effects of fear upon mental effort?
11. How may fear produce the sense of inferiority?
12. What fears are common among rural children? Village children? Urban children?
13. How does fear show itself in industry?
14. Should fear be used as a motive for the securing of control?

Topics for Reports

1. Fear as an animal instinct.
2. Freud's theory of the taboo.
3. Savage taboo and social control.
4. Fear in primitive religion.
5. Fear and childhood behavior.
6. Phobias and obsessions among the insane.
7. Causes of childhood fears.
8. Fears and suggestion.
9. Superstition and fear.
10. Worry and early suggestion.
11. Proper treatment for habits of worry.
12. Teaching dangers without arousing fear.
13. Fear and urban life.
14. Fear and rural life.
15. Fear of unemployment and industrial unrest.

Supplementary Readings

Bruce, H. A., *Psychology and Parenthood, ch. 8,* Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1915.

Crile, G. W., *The Origin and Nature of the Emotions, pp. 55-77,* W. B. Saunders Co., Philadelphia, 1915.

Groves, E. R., *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare, ch. 7,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922.

Lay, W., *The Child's Unconscious Mind, ch. 8,* Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1919.

McDougall, W., *An Introduction to Social Psychology, pp. 51-58,* Luce & Co., Boston, 1918.

Myerson, A., *The Foundations of Personality, pp. 171-78,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1921.

Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change, pp. 173-80,* B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1922.

Rivers, W. H. R., *Instinct and the Unconscious, chs. 6, 7,* Cambridge University Press, London, 1920.

Shand, A. F., *The Foundations of Character, pp. 197-223,* Macmillan, London, 1914.

Sidis, B., *A Lecture on the Abuse of the Fear Instinct in Early Education,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 14, pp. 333-48, Dec. 1919.

Sidis, B., *Nervous Ills, Their Cause and Cure, chs. 2-6,* Badger, Boston, 1922.

Southard, E. E. and Jarrett, M. C., *The Kingdom of Evils, Case 34, pp. 178-82,* Macmillan, New York, 1922.

Wallas, G., *The Great Society, ch. 6,* Macmillan, New York, 1914.

Williams, J. M., *Principles of Social Psychology, ch. 3,* Knopf, New York, 1922.

Buzzard, E. F., *Traumatic Neurasthenia,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 8, pp. 425-37, April, 1924.

CHAPTER VII

The Social Significance of Anger

The pugnacious instinct, with its corresponding emotion, anger, is another member of the ego hierarchy. When self-assertion is seriously hampered, anger or fear originates. Anger is the aggressive reaction to attacks upon self-interest; fear is the contrary reaction connected with self-preservation. Anger leads one to assail the offender; fear impels retreat. The angry man tries to fight; the frightened person attempts to get away from the impending danger. Both fear and anger are violent reactions, each being one of the strongest emotional experiences known to human experience. In rage, the entire personality is captive to the emotion that has resulted from the reduction of self-feeling. The evolutionary value of rage has of course been great, since in primitive times it has secured the survival of those who have been most forcefully driven by this emotion to the attack. Thus anger in the earlier history of men had a greater significance than at present as a factor of social survival. Its significance is still great and its importance both in personal and group behavior is largely open to over-emphasis.

Anger has had such biological meaning that the organism has been adjusted to the emotion so as to produce under its influence the maximum strength of the body. The muscles become tense. The jaw sets. The body advances. The teeth show themselves after the manner of the lower animals. The blood is affected chemically by adrenalin, the product of the adrenal gland, in a way that tends to prevent the realization of fatigue. It is thought also that the

adrenalin aids the coagulation of the blood and thereby reduces the risk of hæmorrhage when the individual becomes wounded. In other words, anger prepares the body for the fighting function.

Watson[1] tells us that anger in its earliest childhood expression is related to situations that hamper the infant's movements. For example the holding of the child's head produces in him at once the physical expressions of rage. The child starts crying, the body stiffens, the arms and legs correlate in striking movements, the breath is held until the face of the child reddens. From birth, almost any baby can be thrown into a rage by holding its arms tightly to its sides. Any one who has hampered a young child in any of its body movements can testify to the ease with which anger can be produced.

Although anger produces in the body its maximum fighting strength it nevertheless frequently so clouds judgment that in the contests characteristic of modern life fierce anger may act as a handicap in a struggle. The prize-fighter, for example, who loses his temper is likely to suffer defeat as a consequence of his impulsive, imprudent actions. This explains the purpose of those who in an athletic contest attempt to stir up anger in their opponents. Anger in spite of its energizing quality interferes with skill and the self-control necessary for successful competition. This illustrates the decreasing value of anger in modern life.

The risk of temper is so generally recognized that parents usually attempt from the beginning to train children not to give way to anger. No instinct receives more social coercion; no instinct is more frowned upon by parents and teachers than is pugnacity. The child is forced very

(1) Watson, J. B., Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist, p. 200.

early to attempt the control of anger. Morality, religion, law, public opinion, continue the repression which began in the home. Society at every point puts its stamp of disapproval upon exhibitions of anger in the ordinary associations of life. We cover up as far as possible any outward evidence of our anger unless we feel sure that it will be shared by our associates or unless we know it will be recognized as so devoid of personal attitude as to be considered righteous indignation. We impose upon ourselves penance after the manner of O. Henry's husband, who always after indulging in a family row gave to his wife something eagerly coveted by her. Therefore he was purposely enraged by his wife that she might enjoy the proceeds of her matrimonial strategy. Those of tender conscience fight even the faintest suggestion of anger and perhaps by the process of repression create complexes that find eventually some circuitous method of expressing the long pent-up emotion.

It is certainly one of the constant strains of modern life that so many situations irritate and lead naturally to the emotion of anger while social opinion is at the same time restricting its expression. The body machinery is put in preparation for the old-time primitive attack, and the individual, well trained by years of social discipline, hardly lifts an eye-lid. The repression Freud makes so much of with reference to the instinct of sex, the social stimulating and repressing of the emotion, is even more noticeable in the case of the pugnacious instinct and the emotion of anger. Much of the fatigue of our social relationships is the natural consequence of circumstances that create in us sensitiveness to attacks upon our self-feeling. Consciousness is easily possessed by the attitude that in the savage world leads to murder, while at the same time prudential considerations, the control that has been inculcated from

early childhood, block any outward expression of the emotion, thus putting upon the organism the strain of inhibiting energy socially produced.

Anger needs more than repression. Early education must reduce to a minimum the child's reaction to anger by preventing not merely the expression, but also the origin of anger. The home and school teaching should put emphasis upon the fact that it is the coming of anger even more than its expression that indicates faulty self-control. The hiding of anger, to be sure, indicates a degree of control, but not enough to prepare one to meet the exigencies of social contacts. It merely makes one a victim of a disturbing experience so hostile to one's social well-being that ordinary prudence leads to its concealment. Whether or not others know of our anger, the fact is registered in the nervous mechanism and strain is created which acts as a handicap in the enterprise of life.

The best discipline for the pugnacious instinct, therefore, is the production of a self-feeling that does not respond to ordinary coercion with any emotional reaction. The key to the problem of control of temper centers in the building up of a wholesome and sensible ego-attitude. One must learn not to take himself too seriously. Any inferiority which is bound to encourage sensitiveness requires specific treatment. The strategy of the educator directs the attention to the construction of self-assertive habits that will make the stimulation of anger difficult.

It would be a grave mistake, however, to attempt the absolute elimination of anger. Not only are the milder forms of pugnacity socially indispensable, but characteristic anger, intense to the point of violence, is at times the only rational reaction to a definite set of circumstances. It antagonizes fear and permits an aggressive attitude in the

place of cowardice. It is, however, when anger is socialized and is felt with reference to the injury inflicted upon others rather than upon the ego itself that anger shows forth its largest value for modern man. The anger that Lincoln is said to have felt upon his first visit to the New Orleans slave mart demonstrates the indispensable moral value anger provides for the energizing of reform. So long as exploitation, deceit, cruelty and false teaching are found in social experience there is need of a pugnacity, refined by socialization, which can give momentum to righteous indignation and make one sensitive to the sufferings of others.

The influence of the socializing process upon man's behavior is shown by the fact that conflict in the wide sense has largely supplanted pugnacity in its most narrow significance. If the social group largely frowns upon anger, it certainly tolerates and even admires conflict. Conflict derives vitality from the self-assertive tendencies of human nature, but it escapes the turbulent characteristics of the emotion of anger. The influence of the herd clearly operates upon conflict. The struggle has an element that suggests the play-spirit. Though the struggle may be intense and may bring forth all the resources an individual has to expend, yet there is lacking the deep sense of self-feeling which anger affords. The love of conflict may easily turn to anger, but in that case the entire mental attitude changes and becomes something different from what it was in the beginning. Conflict represents a social sublimation of primitive pugnacity, a refining of the anti-social instinct until through the modification produced by gregarious influence the elemental constituents of conflict and rivalry become concealed.

Rivalry, for perhaps the term most satisfactorily expresses the connotation of modern socialized conflict, is an

attempt to advance personal prestige and is therefore a positive expression of self-assertion. Anger reacts to an attack made upon the self, while rivalry attempts to win for the self social recognition or at least the satisfaction of the knowledge that prestige is deserved. Rivalry therefore has to conform to the traditions and customs that regulate the struggles that provide opportunity for the gaining of prestige. From the first he who contests with another must conform, for only so can he hope for any measure of distinction. Even the street fight of the school boy has its rigid code of things permitted and not permitted. Unless angered, he who enters a contest considers the "rules of the game," the "behavior of a good sport," and by his attention to the regulations he reveals the social element of the contest.

The desire for prestige, although more socialized than the self-assertion of anger, is nevertheless a very important egoistic reaction. A very large part of the doings of any man—far more than he ever recognizes—must be charged up to the craving for prestige, the result of success in competition and conflict.

The craving for prestige shows its influence very clearly in both the dream and the day-dream. In revery, self-assertion constantly appears in myriad forms. What could be more natural than for imagination to produce such pictures as give to the dreamer a sense of success and importance, denied by the actual conditions? In this way the barren and unhappy life finds in the magic of fancy compensation and satisfaction. Of what is the school child day-dreaming? What causes the smile to pass over his face as he sits supposedly performing his assigned task? The pleasant thought has not been taken from the print of his book, but from the self-seeking desire that has called into activity the omnipotent fancy. Now he is experiencing

what he most wants. How often it is distinction, prestige, that he covets. The form of contest familiar to him, the prestige most recognized by his associates, these determine the content of his fancy.

These reveries do more than pay tribute to the strength of the craving for successful rivalry. They are also for all who feel the pain of a suppressed self—and who, at times, does not?—emotional compensations. The toil-driven captive of machine industry dreams her way into freedom and luxury and prestige. She steadies herself amid circumstances that unrelieved might drive her to despair, and revels in the creations of her own magic. In conversation regarding one's own career, who escapes the slight distortions, false emphasis and bright coloring of past behavior that give to the reciter a sense of acting the hero? Of course this playing with reality has its risks. It may easily pass over into a disastrous inability to separate fact from fancy.

The universality of play with reality demonstrates its essentially protective function. It gives at times a meaning to the life that the naked, cold facts deny. It allows a taste of prestige to those whose self-feeling is famished. Thus it makes life tolerable when otherwise it could hardly be endured. It also stimulates perhaps to later self-expression and resulting real prestige. Then we pronounce the reverie, vision. It has a social significance also in its ability to make acceptable social conditions that might cause social aversions leading to class antipathy, were it not that the more favored provide day-dreaming symbols for those less fortunate. The king and queen, the lord and lady, and the millionaire are socially secure as long as they are worked into the symbolic reveries of the peasant and the poor, and by the process of idealization are made to seem socially appropriate and desirable.

The revery also functions as a means of compensation for anger denied adequate expression. G. Stanley Hall[1] tells of the adolescent girl, who is hurt by the taunts of her friend, and becomes angry; then gains revenge by picturing herself at the funeral of the friend. She rehearses the entire proceeding and imagines herself listening to remarks reflecting upon the character of the deceased. After the completion of her emotional indulgence, the daydream returns to reality, she makes up with her friend and even shows solicitude for the latter's health. Similar experiences by which revenge is obtained through the use of the phantasy are familiar to those who deal with children or who vividly recall their own childhood.

A type of play-acting among children which uses the mechanism of phantasy as a means of "getting even" occasionally leads to suicide. The child feels that he has been wronged by someone dear to him and thinks over his bad treatment until he builds up the idea of hurting the offender by causing his own death. He pictures the regret of the person responsible for his suffering, and may develop the plan of carrying out the idea of suicide sufficiently to win back the attention and the love of the person who has been guilty of the harsh treatment. A method is chosen which is expected to give the idea of serious intent without actually proving successful. Unfortunately, mistakes are sometimes made and actual suicide results. For example, a young high school girl, angered by criticism from her mother attempted suicide under circumstances that made it clear that she did not intend really to kill herself. Nevertheless she nearly paid with her life for the make-believe, since her rescue from the water into which she threw herself in the presence of several on-lookers was

(1) Hall, G. S., Anger as a Primary Emotion, Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 10, p. 86, July, 1915.

finally accomplished only with great difficulty, due to the excitement that followed her act. Doubtless many of the suicides of children result in this way.

The following case illustrates a suicide which resulted from what was meant merely as a threat. "A girl of sixteen and a half years, born in Massachusetts, of Italian parentage, a Roman Catholic, worked in a paper factory. She was described as one of the best girls in the factory. She had mixed up a dose of Paris green the year before, following a suicidal threat. She had a sweetheart, with whom she went to church every day during Holy Week. He was planning to go away, and she feared that he would desert her. On Easter he had asked her to wait dinner for him, and she had not done so. Upon his arrival, he was angry, and she went to the cellar for fruit and while there drank Paris green. She was taken to a hospital, where she said that she did not want to die, and that she was extremely sorry, but she subsequently died. There was no evidence of pregnancy."(1)

Indeed suicide itself, as has been said, expresses a peculiar negative expression of self-feeling. In certain aspects it suggests the reverse of anger reactions, a turning against the self with a hostility that has in it elements of both pride and despair. Suicide "often appears to be a reaction to certain states of mind, corresponding to the blow in anger or to flight in fear, or any gesture. It may be conceived as a superlative in expressing the emotion of negative self-feeling. Just as the most extreme expression of rage is, 'I'll kill you,' so an analogous expression in grief is, 'I wish I were dead.' In fact a great deal of the legal reasoning concerning homicide may be applied to suicide, and cases of self-destruction fall roughly

(1) Stearns, A. W., Suicide in Massachusetts, Mental Hygiene, Oct., 1921, p. 776.

into three groups, corresponding to the three degrees of murder.

"In anger there is an impulse to strike. The blow may be directed at a door or a tree. The blow, and not its result, is the important thing to be considered. To be sure, certain cases involve premeditation, and the intellectual element seems important, but analysis reveals that in most cases at least emotion is dominating reason. So it is in the case of many suicides. This negative self-feeling leads to a distinctive turning upon self, the person wishing to kill himself rather than to die."(1)

Suggestive of the phantasy created for compensation is the habit of those who turn their ordinary activities into conflicts. The child, for example, sometimes thinks of his task in algebra or Latin translation as a sort of battle in which his strength is being tried. In the same manner the business man conceives of his competition as a conflict which tests his qualities of character in a way that makes success an advancement of self-esteem and failure the occasion of reproach. The purpose in this semi-type of phantasy is self-stimulation. The individual responds to the idea of struggle when it is made a test of fighting ability in a way impossible for the person who thinks of it in the unimaginative form of business competition. Men of success tend toward this mechanism, and they are therefore legitimately considered descendants of the primitive hunter.

It is also true that there is in everyone a tendency to react to impersonal obstacles as if they embodied the antagonistic opposition of some specific individual. One who is delayed by the breaking down of railroad transportation finds it very easy to generate anger which is turned against some person who to the delayed passenger

(1) Ibid, p. 761.

is representative of the railroad itself. Of course rational thought would reveal in most such cases that the difficulty was not caused by the inefficiency of any one individual, certainly not by the particular official who chanced to be the victim of the delayed passenger's anger.

In much the same way that the savage was wont to personify all the occurrences of the natural world, so the modern man when his purposes are thwarted finds it difficult to maintain a rational attitude toward his obstructions. If angry, he is best satisfied by having a sense of personal grievance, for this permits his emotion to flow out freely toward some person. It adds to the wear and tear of life that so many of the impersonal happenings, bound to occur in an environment where so much is contributed by machinery, are reacted to as if they were deliberate expressions of ill will by those in power. The agitator makes large use of this tendency of human nature to personify the source of discontent; from it he creates pugnacity toward some person or organization which is selected as object for the expression of the emotion. If the agitator can create enough feeling, the emotion generated can easily be affixed by insinuation and suggestion to the object chosen to receive the hostility.

The politician makes use of this process in a lesser degree in order to create an attitude of mind which will make his followers too deeply partisan to be conscious of their own misthinking or to feel the force of the arguments of his opponent.

The supreme example of the solidifying use of pugnacity is the work of the militarist who fans to a flame all possible national prejudice, misapprehension and past grievance to produce a hostility that will sweep even prudence aside and force through public opinion a costly war. It was the use of this process by Bismarck that occasioned the

unfortunate Franco-Prussian war. As the historians now tell us, Bismarck created in France an outburst of anger which forced the entire nation into the trap which had been set for it.

In so far as we are isolated in our associations and do not understand those with whom we have no contact, we are more susceptible to this manipulation of pugnacity by the agitator or partisan. In the present warfare between capital and labor it is evident that the isolation which modern industry produces adds largely to the hostile emotions which make coöperation between the two parts of modern business so exceedingly difficult. Pugnacity, therefore, as it expresses itself in mass action is a very profoundly solidifying influence. An angry crowd moves in its riotous outburst as one man. Discussion, deliberation and criticism are forced into abeyance while the anger vents itself.

In our treatment of the criminal there still linger the marks of crowd pugnacity. The good citizen reacts to the criminal as to an enemy, since from the viewpoint of orderly society, especially with reference to the institution of property, the criminal is destructive of social security, of social values. His activities, therefore, challenge the well-being of all. He receives the hostility of the good citizen and even from his own viewpoint recognizes that he has been made an outlaw. He wars upon society and society revenges itself upon him. For only so does society believe that he can be prevented from his destructive ravages upon the values precious to the others.

Hate is a sort of chronic anger. It comes about when strong desires are blocked, especially when once pride is seriously hurt. Hatred is intense and demands for its satisfaction the humiliation of him who has been responsible for the emotion. Hatred spreads quickly through

a group when by the use of suggestion all the individuals come to have the same feeling of anger. Hatred particularly thrives where the sense of relationship has been lost. To emphasize the human resemblances between oneself and the hated person melts the emotion, and for that reason when one is caught by hatred he magnifies differences and resents any suggestion of likeness. Hate conceals its evil nature by clothing itself in the symbol of justice. As a consequence much vengeance which is supposedly just is really the creation of the monster, Hate, rationalized in order to escape the risk of social disapprobation.

Envy has been defined by William McDougall as negative self-feeling and anger. It is of course in relation to superiors that one feels envy. In such a situation, as McDougall has said, there often seems to be a feeling that the self has been injured, since the other by his more fortunate possessions be-littles one's self. There is also the feeling that one has been excluded because of the achievement of the other.

Jealousy is a characteristic, but mean reaction which seems to have in it elements of both anger and fear. It is found, as everybody knows, in animals. If one has had a dog as a pet, he is familiar with the immediate expressions of jealousy that follow when another animal is made much of. In early childhood also jealousy shows itself frequently and clearly. Jealousy as a rule is expressed when a relationship of affection appears to be threatened by some other association. This explains why jealousy is so often related to experiences of sex. The more exclusive the affection, the more easily jealousy is produced. The coming of jealousy is largely an individual matter. Some natures are easily excited to jealousy, while a nobler type appears entirely free of it. Society frowns upon exhibitions of jealousy, and that is why one who is jealous

usually tends to hide the feeling. This is one of the dangerous elements of jealousy. It may be strongly felt and altogether concealed from the person who is destined to receive the hostility of the emotion.

In jealousy as in the other anti-social expressions of anger, the results of early training show forth clearly. The parents can do most to eliminate from the developing child the unfortunate experiences of temper, hate, envy and jealousy. Children who tend to develop anger easily can be greatly helped by a constructive program in the home. Their health should be particularly conserved, since physical influences contribute so much to habits of anger. Self-expression also should receive every possible assistance, for the psychic basis of temper is often a deep, underlying sense of inferiority. Larger social contacts should be encouraged, for isolation is the social element especially involved in hate, envy and jealousy. Most of all, the child must be trained to a proper sense of values. It is the change in estimation that destroys anti-social pugnacity. It is because of this that the tragedy has such a purging quality. Robert Browning is one of many poets who illustrate how quickly change in viewpoint, due to a better sense of values, turns hatred into pity. In his poems, "Before," and "After," Browning introduces us to the mood before the duel and that which follows when death has intervened and the flood-tide of anger passed.

Topics for Discussion

1. What is the biological value of anger?
2. What effects has anger upon the body?
3. How does the baby show the instinctive character of anger?
4. Does modern life tend to increase or lessen anger experiences?
5. Is anger indispensable to wholesome behavior?

6. How does modern life sublimate anger?
7. How does revery act as a compensation for anger?
8. How does anger lead to suicide among children?
9. How may anger solidify group unity?
10. What school experiences show group suggestibility as a result of pugnacity?
11. How should the teacher handle anger in school children?
12. How does jealousy express itself in school children?

Topics for Reports

1. The development of anger in early childhood.
2. The relationship of anger and fear.
3. Athletics as a means of sublimating pugnacity.
4. William James' "The Moral Equivalent of War."
5. Conflict as a motive in modern life.
6. Analysis of anger experiences in school children.
7. Suicide among children.
8. Class conflicts due to class isolation.
9. Analysis of cases of jealousy among school children; among school teachers.
10. Social attitudes in war-time.
11. A school program for the wholesome training of pugnacity.

Supplementary Readings

Cannon, Walter B., *What Strong Emotions Do to Us,* Harper's Magazine, July, 1922.

Case, C. M., *Instinctive and Cultural Factors in Group Conflicts,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 28, pp. 1-20, July, 1922.

Edman, I., *Human Traits and their Social Significance, pp. 111-15,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920.

Hall, G. S., *Anger as a Primary Emotion, and the Application of Freudian Mechanisms to its Phenomena,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 10, pp. 81-87, July, 1915.

James, W., *The Moral Equivalent of War, Memories and Studies, ch. 11,* Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1917.

McDougall, W., *An Introduction to Social Psychology, pp. 61-64 and ch. 2* Luce & Co., Boston, 1918.

Mead, G. H., *The Psychology of Punitive Justice,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 23, pp. 577-602, March, 1918.

Myerson, A., *The Foundations of Personality, pp. 178-81,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1921.

Richardson, R. F., *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Anger,* Warwick & York, Baltimore, 1918.

Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology, pp. 44-45,* Century Co., New York, 1920.

Shand, A. F., *The Foundations of Character, pp. 224-70,* Macmillan, London, 1914.

Tead, O., *Instincts in Industry, ch. 9,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1918.

Bovet, P., *The Fighting Instinct,* Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1923.

Stratton, G. M., *Anger, Its Religious and Moral Significance,* Macmillan, New York, 1923.

CHAPTER VIII

The Social Significance of Sex

The sex instinct with its corresponding emotion of love is one of the strongest of all the instincts, and none is more important for social life. Were it not for the sex instinct there would of course be no perpetuation of the species and society would necessarily come to an end. Its importance, however, is greater than merely to bring offspring into the world. The sex instinct has been worked upon by social experience until it expresses itself in numberless different activities, many of them so far removed from the original source that nothing but skillful analysis reveals the relationship. It is particularly in the psychic and social life that these derivatives of the instinct show themselves. The instinct also combines in every conceivable way with the other instincts so that it forms only a component part of a complex attitude or activity, which nevertheless can not be thoroughly understood apart from its connection with sex.

Although this instinct has been modified in such a marked degree by social tradition, custom and other forms of coercion, it is by no means weaker than the more simple instinct of savage life. Quite the contrary. In spite of the fact that it has been turned to so many different means of expression, it has increased its original intensity so that even from the viewpoint of mere physical sex modern man is more powerfully sexual than his earlier predecessors.

The instinct, in its physical aspect, is racial in its significance in that it is the necessary basis for human survival. So far as the experience of the individual is concerned,

however, sex appears so individualistic that it even seems essentially anti-social. It is this fact that forces the group to place social restraint upon this instinct to a greater degree than upon any of the other instincts.

Dr. Sigmund Freud has focussed the attention of the psychologists and the sociologists upon the sex instinct. The Freudian psychology places great emphasis upon sex as a motive of human control. By his study of the neurotic, Freud was led to the conviction that sex had a much larger psychic significance than had previously been supposed. As a result of his investigations Freud developed a psychological theory which is known as "the Freudian psychology." Although to many psychologists and sociologists Freud appears to put an excessive importance upon sex, it is now generally admitted that any satisfactory interpretation of human conduct must necessarily give a large place to sex. Freud, therefore, has influenced thinking to a very great extent. He has failed, however, thus far to win the following of the majority of psychologists although unquestionably his influence upon the science has been greater than that of any one else. His doctrine has been modified somewhat, both by himself and especially by some of his former disciples who have eventually developed a school of thought of their own.

Freud claims to discover evidences of sex instinct in the very early days of childhood. Much depends upon how the instinct is defined. There are certainly responses on the part of the child to tickling and stroking that are intimations of later sex reactions. These early responses are not generally considered to be real sex experiences. However, there is a disposition amongst all psychologists to push the expression of sex back into earlier years than formerly they did. Certainly there are in infancy beginnings of sex attraction that have a great deal to do with

the mature sex experience. Indeed the normality of mature sex life largely depends upon the treatment received by the child at the time of these early experiences.

No instinct develops such a quantity of emotion as does sex, if the instinct is interpreted in its widest modern expression. Love itself is a striking illustration of the tremendous strength and the magnitude of an emotion for the most part a product of sex. Love, even of parent and child, undoubtedly has a sex element. The same is true in all the varying degrees of association and friendship of the two sexes, from the adolescent period onward. The intimate influence of sex upon mental life has been demonstrated time and time again by the social experiences of mankind. It seems, for instance, to be a fact revealed by the experiences of various peoples that a precocious development of physical sex tends to have a retarding and even deadening effect upon the mind. At least it is the testimony of savage life that where the initiation of the boys, as in certain Australian tribes, is followed by the beginning of physical sex relationships, the mentality immediately becomes static and intellectual progress henceforth is difficult. Professor Ross affirms the same thing to be true in the mental experience of the South American boys. Every schoolmaster of experience realizes from intimate knowledge that no disturbance so quickly discloses itself in mental life as do conflicts that have a sex origin. Not only do they frequently make study difficult, but they even extend to activities that have moral and social significance.

The sex instinct changes with the developing of the growing personality, from its most elemental appearance to the final passing of the physical powers of the sex life. Indeed, psychically there is every reason to suppose that sex usually extends beyond the time of physical vitality, often influencing the emotional life even more seriously

than when the body had its normal functions. At every stage of this development modifications of mental, including emotional, experience must necessarily occur. The life has to be adjusted as it changes from one type of love-fixation to another. The dangers of this program are pointed out in chapter thirteen and need not here be given much attention. There is always the possibility of infantile fixation, which leaves the individual stranded upon a lower level of development than was his right; and as a result his individuality suffers retardation.

This possibility of arrest becomes one of the most serious concerns of parent and teacher. Such intimacy with the child must be maintained that he naturally and freely offers fellowship and thus makes it possible for his older associates to recognize the significance of the events in his sex-maturing progress. If from any cause the child shuts himself up or by processes of deceit hides from his older associates the deeper experiences of his sex life, a foundation is laid for a complex which in time may make wholesomeness and happiness next to impossible. The parent and the teacher therefore have an opportunity to obtain through sympathy an insight into the changing character of the sex life of the child. They must necessarily avoid suspicion and harsh criticism. They must regard reasonably the meaning of a sex attitude by considering it with reference to the time at which it appears. This is particularly true with reference to masturbation, which is certainly a very common phenomenon in the early life of boys, and perhaps much more common amongst girls than at present is supposed. Masturbation is often reacted to so violently by older people that the child is even terror-stricken and left helpless with reference to a habit which, wisely treated, would most certainly pass out of the life. The experience into which the boy naturally entered

becomes charged with such emotional shame and reproach that there recur from that time onward occasional feelings of moral and social inferiority that tremendously injure the developing of the personality. In a lingering superstition these untoward social and psychic and moral results are charged up to the physical act itself and thereby strengthen an erroneous belief which becomes one of the crushing experiences of childhood.

Sex requires sublimation. This means that the physical element of sex is necessarily largely checked and the energy turned into other activities. Human society can not escape the ordeal of such sublimation. The animals are protected from excessive sex behavior by the periodicity of the appearance of the instinct. In human beings there is no such protection, at least among men. Therefore if there were no social influences at work to hold in check this powerful instinct, a large part of the energy of human nature required for the complexity of civilized existence would be drawn into mere physical sex.

Even the savage does not escape the necessity of some degree of control. Although his problem is certainly less than that of modern man and ordinarily the stimulations that waken sex are fewer, even he could not maintain the degree of social organization that he has, were it not for his social processes of sex control. These are particularly illustrated by taboo. Taboo is a means of social coercion, built upon fear; it is irresistible. Trained from earliest childhood to accept the taboo, dreading with perfect terror the consequences of its violation, the savage easily conforms to the conduct imposed upon him, which, however different it may be from that of modern life, is nevertheless largely restrictive. Taboos are not exclusively related to sex, but predominantly so, for no instinct in savage society has such possibilities of unsocial behavior.

Since sex is so thoroughly coerced by custom and by law, phantasy, as one would expect, is one of the methods by which an individual escapes from the restrictions that hamper inner desire. A very great deal of day-dreaming, especially in early youth, concentrates about sex. Because of the enormous strength of the group influence and the impression left upon the person by his early training, in large measure this revery is not clearly sexual but deals with secondary aspects of the instinct rather than with the physical act itself. This is especially true of girls, but although the phantasy dilutes the elemental sex, there can be no question regarding the origin of the emotional activities. Sex in its psychic aspects sweeps into the adolescent life with such tremendous strength that to some extent it has to pass over into phantasy; and the most matter-of-fact adolescent hardly escapes altogether day-dreaming that is primarily based upon sex interest. The profound experience of the dream also illustrates the vigor of the instinct, particularly in the first years of physical sex maturity.

Suggestion and emotional association frequently show themselves in perversions that are perhaps accidental variations in the expressions of sex. These perversions are also of a more serious character, resulting from the breaking down of the mental stability of the person and an undue magnifying of some secondary element which would naturally play a very minor part in normal sex attitudes. A horrible perversion is the development of cruelty to the opposite sex as a substitute for normal sex relationships. Much more common and socially disadvantageous is the development of slight homosexual tendencies due to the effort to check normal sex interest and the accidental opportunity of bestowing upon a member of one's own sex affection that rightly belongs to those of the other sex.

This form of fixation has also been treated in chapter fourteen and needs no description at this point.

Courtship represents a peculiar sex experience which is as emotional as any lengthy experience of life. It has in it necessarily a very large element of phantasy and expresses itself to some extent on the part of both man and woman, but especially boy and girl, in play-acting. It is in large measure the emotional content of an experience that stimulates physical sex and at the same time checks its expression. It also conveys all the earlier idealism that has been taught the individual with reference to sex relationship. It paints the future in the brightest possible colors. It invigorates the personality often to the maximum of physical attractiveness. It forces out of consciousness, especially in the young, all prudential considerations. No experience is so self-forgetting, until a rival invades the sacred relationship and then tremendous jealousy follows. Former affection may even be replaced by intense hatred.

It is not surprising that marriage has so many emotional disturbances in its beginning, when it is remembered that the two captives of the emotion which has been running so strongly in the courtship now have to come down to the realities of life and face unexpected and undesired responsibilities. The emotion largely passes. In its place remains the memory of the experience that once was. He or she that has remained infantile in sex development protests against the necessity of adjusting to the new condition of things. The partner is accused of having failed in his affection and as a result the marriage may be wrecked. The insurance against such a disaster must be taken out in the early years of childhood. The courtship may not be so highly emotional and actually therefore have lasting vitality. This has been recognized by the proverbs that

record human experience in all times and places, as, for instance, this of the Africans of the Guinea coast: "Quick love a woman means quick not loving a woman."

"Marry in haste, repent at leisure" is our own version. Shakespeare says:

> "Love moderately: long love doth so.
> Too swift arrives as tardy as too slow."

Byron reports that:

> "Love bears within itself the very germ
> Of change, and how should this be otherwise?
> That violent things more quickly find a term
> Is shown through nature's whole analogies."

Now that marriage tends to be entered upon later, as everywhere is the case amongst the more intellectual classes, courtship itself becomes more moral and intellectual and escapes very largely the excessive expressions of phantasy. Sex leads on to marriage and the original instinct acquires a new meaning as parenthood ensues. With the coming of parenthood appears a different instinctive response which has been called by William McDougall "tender emotion," and which is usually defined as the parental instinct. The parental instinct with its corresponding emotion runs deeper than the original sex instinct and tends to a more permanent emotional quality. It is fortunate that the child's welfare is protected by so tremendous and instinctive a response. Perhaps originally the parental instinct extended over only the earlier period of the child's life. In any case modern society makes the parent's attitude co-extensive with his life in normal cases and thus the cause of the child's arrest due to parental exploitation, as discussed in chapters thirteen and fourteen. The purpose of

the parental instinct is, of course, the securing of the welfare of the offspring and it necessarily has to have a very enduring foundation. In the normal home sex and parenthood coalesce so that it is difficult to separate the two instincts. The father and mother are not only interested in one another but they are mutually cemented together by a compelling regard for their offspring. In this way the relationship between physical sex and its ally, parental instinct, comes out clearly. Perhaps the best way to understand the two instinctive responses is to consider them both part of the larger, inclusive sex complex. In such a case the interests that gather about sex, instinctive in origin, would have three distinct expressions—physical sex, comradeship with the opposite sex, and an emotional attitude toward the offspring.

Society obtains from the affection that naturally passes from parent to child greater value than merely the perpetuation of the home. A large part of altruism roots itself in this affection. Men and women who are denied parenthood sublimate this element of the sex complex to a considerable extent by their interest in others, especially in children. It has been an abounding source for the tenderness which more and more becomes characteristic of human society. It is to do justice to this fact that Professor William McDougall defines the emotion connected with the parental instinct as the "tender emotion." Although tender emotion is found among animals it is normally concentrated. In the case of highly organized human beings, however, it is spread over a wide territory of social contacts and becomes a large component of what we call benevolence. It is therefore indispensable to human progress and should not be confined entirely to any home. It enriches social experience to its fullest extent. Nothing, therefore, demonstrates more clearly the tre-

mendous importance of the parental element of the sex complex than does its influence in extending sympathy into the group.

The child that is to develop wholesome personality must receive some kind of sex education just as he must have assistance in developing the right attitude along other lines of instinctive interests. This education, however, can not consist merely in the getting of knowledge. More than he wants knowledge he wants development of proper attitudes. The problem, therefore, of sex education is the larger problem of developing the character as a whole. In moral training there can not be absolute neglect of the sex aspects without injury to the character. On the other hand, sex can not be treated with any degree of success as a thing by itself which needs for its training only the giving to the boy or girl of some definite instruction.

One can not go far in the problem of sex education without recognizing the serious need of educating parents so that they can give to their children from the beginning wholesome attitudes toward sex. The school child, even though very young, has already begun his sex training, and before the school authorities can contribute much to sex wholesomeness the boy or girl has acquired notions of sex that are likely to be immensely important for the rest of life. It is to the parent, therefore, that we must more and more look for help in preventing the origin of sex difficulties. Surely the parent is ill-prepared to do this unless he himself receives some instruction. This society is likely to see clearly, and in America at least, by one means or another, parents will be given the sympathy and understanding and point of view which will mean most to the growing child. It is encouraging to find so many parents who have prepared themselves to give to their children instruction in sex and who have made possible for

their children more wholesome attitudes toward sex than they themselves had in their childhood.

The parent does not have to arouse sex interest, but only to discover it when it appears in the child. It will surely come, for curiosity with reference to sex is normal in every child and has just the same significance that any other curiosity has. The sense of mystery so often put about sex results in making the curiosity seem different because it is so lacking in frankness.

Many parents have the erroneous idea that sex education is particularly concerned with the dangers of venereal disease and other consequences of vice. This point of view is most unfortunate. The child, especially the girl, can be made to react against sex by stress upon its pathological side so that it can never be a thoroughly normal or wholesome element in the life. Doubtless in the past sex education everywhere has overstressed venereal disease. The positive note needs to be struck. The sex life must be made idealistic and socially responsible. Mere prudence provides a shaky foundation for any sex education program. It is important that the parent give this positive attitude toward the entire sex life to the child before the latter comes in contact with playmates who will impress the opposite standpoint. This consideration makes it imperative that the parent be close enough to his child to detect the first expressions of sex curiosity.

It must not be thought that the parent should deliver a long lecture with great detail when the child asks a simple question which has in it sex content. The good way is to give the child about as much as he asks for and take it for granted that at some other time more information will be required. If the child finds that his first question is answered satisfactorily, he will not be slow in bringing later questions, as they arise, to the same

authority that met his earlier need. The parent will find that however explicit he may be, he is likely to be misunderstood and at a later time he will be called on to straighten out the tangle, or to give again information he thought he had given plainly enough. This is on account of the child's inability to take to himself more than his maturity demands. In the child whose questionings are frankly answered by a trustworthy person, no morbid curiosity will arise, and gradually he will develop wholesome attitudes toward sex, just as his personality develops along other lines.

Topics for Discussion

1. What are the important social derivatives of the instinct of sex?
2. What are the chief elements of the Freudian psychology?
3. How may sex cause mental conflict?
4. What is meant by infantile love fixation?
5. How may the school influence sex sublimation?
6. How much responsibility for wholesome sex development belongs to the school?
7. What should the school authorities do in case of sex delinquency?
8. What are the sex problems of adolescence?
9. Should the school give sex instruction? If so, how?
10. What is the relation between parenthood and altruism?
11. How can the school capitalize the parent's interest in child welfare?

Topics for Reports

1. Freud's interpretation of the sex life of the child.
2. Case studies from William Healy's "Individual Delinquent."
3. Parenthood and altruism.
4. A high school program for sex education.
5. Sociological aspects of sex.

6. Sex in adolescence.
7. Sex instruction in literature.
8. Sex instruction in biology.
9. The teaching of eugenics in the high school.
10. Sex and art.
11. The teaching of parents.
12. Social hygiene as a community program.
13. Sex education in the rural school.
14. The educational work of the United States Public Health Service.
15. The American Social Hygiene Society.
16. The churches and the sex problem.
17. Progress against venereal disease.

Supplementary Readings

Campbell, C. M., *The Sex Instinct,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 16, pp. 243-49, Oct., 1921.

Ellis, H., *Sex in Relation to Society,* Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Vol. 6, F. A. Davis, Philadelphia, 1910.

Exner, M. J., *Problems and Principles of Sex,* Association Press, New York, 1915.

Freud, S., *Selected Papers on Hysteria and other Psychoneuroses,* Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series No. 4, New York, 1912.

Frink, H. W., *Morbid Fears and Compulsions, chs. 5, 6,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1918.

Galloway, T. W., *Sex and Life,* Association Press, New York, 1919.

Groves, E. R., *Moral Sanitation,* Association Press, New York, 1916.

Gruenberg, B. C., *High Schools and Sex Education,* Government Printing Office, Washington, 1922.

Healy, W., *The Individual Delinquent, pp. 400-13,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1915.

Hooker, E. H., *The Laws of Sex, ch. 13,* Badger, Boston, 1921.

Kenworthy, M. E., *The Mental Hygiene Aspects of Illegitimacy,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 5, pp. 499-508, July, 1921.

MacCurdy, J. T., *Problems in Dynamic Psychology, ch. 20,* Macmillan, New York, 1922.

Moll, A., *The Sexual Life of the Child,* Macmillan, New York, 1912.

Prince, M., *The Structure and Dynamic Elements of Human Personality,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 15, pp. 403-14, Dec., 1920.

Sadger, J., *Masturbation and its Treatment,* Journal of Sexology and Psychanalysis, Vol. 1, pp. 29-50, Jan., 1923.

Tansley, A. G., *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, chs. 21, 22,* Allen & Unwin, London, 1920.

Warburg, F. S., *Sex Teaching in Schools,* Sociological Review, Vol. 10, pp. 90-95, Autumn, 1918.

Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology, ch. 14,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924.

Curtis, H. S., *The Relation of Public Recreation to Problems of Sex,* Journal of Social Hygiene, Vol. 10, pp. 203-07, April, 1924.

Daley, M. W., *Delinquents and Sex-Education,* Journal of Social Hygiene, Vol. 10, pp. 278-83, May, 1924.

Huxley, J., *Essays of a Biologist, ch. 4,* Knopf, New York, 1923.

Wells, F. L., *Pleasure and Behavior, ch. 4,* Appleton, New York, 1924.

CHAPTER IX

The Social Significance of Gregariousness

The life into which the child of modern civilized man is born is intensely social. From the beginning the child's activities are expressed in the presence of people who at once attempt to control and modify his behavior. As the child develops and consciousness and attention appear, his interest is chiefly concentrated upon the people round about. It follows therefore that the developing child is influenced by his human environment in a way that separates him from the animals, whose attention is so largely predetermined by instinct. So much of the life of the child is concerned with the attitudes of the people who have him under their control that it is impossible to distinguish his interest in people, which is built upon a gregarious instinct, from his interest in them because they minister to his self-regarding and other instinctive cravings.

No one questions the gregarious behavior of animals. The herd reactions are familiar to all who are acquainted with the behavior of sheep, wolves and other herding animals. The value of this herding behavior is also clear. The alarm that one of the members of the herd expresses passes quickly to all the other members of the flock, and they run off as if governed by one impulse, in this way often protecting themselves from danger. Their behavior is stereotyped as is all mere instinctive conduct so that occasionally their gregarious tendency proves detrimental rather than an advantage.

There is considerable doubt amongst the psychologists as to whether there is such an instinct as the gregarious.

There are many ways in which the gregarious behavior of human beings can be accounted for without assuming an original instinct. The self-regarding instinct, especially as it shows itself in fear, would cause the individual to seek gregarious experience since in the group the individual feels safety. Indeed this is so certainly true of the primitive savage that in many cases the ostracizing of a man from his tribe means death because without tribal protection he is at the mercy of the first person he encounters.

The self-regarding instinct as it influences the desire for prestige necessarily turns the attention of the individual to the group, since to win standing with his fellows is the keenest pleasure he can have in his effort to exalt himself. Most psychologists still consider the gregarious behavior of man as primarily the result of an original instinct. Although not all psychologists account for man's gregarious tendency on the basis of a gregarious instinct, there is nevertheless general agreement as to the instinctive character of man's gregarious conduct. There is nowhere any disposition to deny the importance of the human gregarious tendencies, whether the result of an instinct or merely the expression of a habit built upon various instincts, or produced by a combination of these causes.

There can be no question as to the tremendous tendency amongst human beings to flock together and to receive from one another stimulations. Indeed one of the pressing problems of modern life is the excessive craving for the gregarious environment, which seems to be characteristic of civilized man the world around.

The value that this desire for comradeship has had in human development can hardly be overemphasized. Lester Ward, one of our foremost sociologists, stated the situation very clearly when he wrote as follows: "For want of a better name, I have characterized this social instinct, or

instinct of race safety, as religion, but not without clearly perceiving that it constitutes the primordial undifferentiated plasm out of which have subsequently developed all the more important human institutions. This . . . . if it be not an instinct, is at least the human homologue of animal instinct, and served the same purpose after the instincts had chiefly disappeared, and when the egotistic reason would otherwise have rapidly carried the race to destruction in its mad pursuit of pleasure for its own sake.''(1)

The gregarious activities are more modified by environment than ordinarily is true of man's instinctive responses, since he is sensitive to the attitudes of the group and conforms to it in his behavior. The sex and self-regarding instincts when stimulated conform more largely to inner disposition. The gregarious activity is not only aroused from outside stimulation, but the manner of the behavior is colored by the external circumstances. From the very nature of the gregarious behavior there is therefore a tendency not only to impress upon the individual strong incitations to activity but also to determine to a large extent what the nature of these responses shall be.

It is often thought that man is gregarious only when in association. This is a mistake, however, because it leaves out the ability of the imagination to create the gregarious influence. One by himself may be keenly concerned with the possible attitudes of his group with reference to his behavior, even though he feels confident that what he does may not be known. The very thought of what would be the attitude of his comrades were his action discovered has influence upon him. No one can understand the significance of moral sensitivity unless he takes into account the

(1) Ward, L., Pure Sociology, p. 134. See also pp. 200 and 556.

way the gregarious attitude spreads itself over one's life and keeps one in contact with the group socially through imagination even when physical relationship is denied.

Much of social solidarity must be charged up to the gregarious tendency in human nature. It leads us to develop what Giddings has called "consciousness of kind," or the recognition of similarities in others which makes us feel friendliness in our associations. This consciousness of kind becomes a cementing influence and the group of individuals under its influence becomes one structure. The gregarious desire drives us toward association and by the process of contact we discover and develop similarities that provide a basis for sympathy and consciousness of kind. No one can have any idea of the method of social control, who leaves out of account the significance of the gregarious cravings of men and women. Human nature is particularly sensitive to praise and blame. We all covet from our associates favorable opinions and react to their criticisms. This sensitiveness to general approval or disapproval becomes the basis not only of our morality but more than anything else constructs every form of social control. In the degree that one is lacking in the gregarious tendency, the control has to be built upon a more intellectual type of self-criticism, for there is no substantial way of producing social discipline.

The gregarious craving is related to sympathy. It is not sympathy, however, although often mistaken for it. In producing a desire for contact, in bringing people together, in making one person give attention to the reactions of another, it provides motives for sympathy. That it is not itself sympathy is clearly shown by the following illustration. An individual living in a small village, finding his gregarious desires largely unsatisfied, and reacting to the trivialities of close contact, found it necessary in

order to preserve sanity of mind in his social behavior to visit a city occasionally and indulge in gregarious experience. During the first days of such a visit he was most happy in wandering up and down the crowded streets, looking in the shop windows, mingling in the crowd and feeling himself lost in the great mass of people. Clearly he was satisfying his gregarious cravings. There was evidently no sympathy involved. If he came in contact with some friend who brought back the thought of his ordinary responsibilities, the pleasure was marred, even though he enjoyed the meeting itself. His profession demanded sympathy, and by disposition he was usually happy in expressing his interest in others, but until the gregarious void had been filled, it seemed an intrusion to meet any person who removed from him the pure sense of being a mere member of the crowd. The thoroughly gregarious person is not necessarily sympathetic. One does not wish to be in the crowd because he has any sense of personal relationship with the members individually making up the assemblage, but simply because of the pleasure that comes from the contact itself.

The loosest possible gregarious association is what might be known as a gathering. It requires the fortuitous coming together of people, and represents so little common association that it seems to have no individual character at all. It is, however, potentially a crowd and can even quickly become a mob or express itself in a panic. It affords gregarious satisfaction and has become in modern life one of the great pleasures to be found in a city. People are drawn together, as for instance in the Easter Sunday parade, without any other motive than the mere enjoyment of contact with a great mass of moving individuals.

The crowd represents a more definite sort of association. In the crowd there is a degree of concentration of atten-

tion. A typical crowd, for example, gathers about a speaker, and his personality becomes the common element shared by all the members of the crowd. The crowd at the bulletin board, following the announcement of the results of a famous football match or a national election or a great battle, shows a fixation of attention which tends to a slight organization of common interest.

Crowds are proverbially lacking in intelligent behavior. To be sure they are sometimes known to act in a more heroic manner than most of the individuals by themselves would be likely to do. These experiences are, however, exceptional. Usually the crowd, whatever its makeup, travels upon a low emotional and intellectual level. This is largely the result of lack of discussion. The crowd can not tolerate differences of opinion. To permit discussion dissolves unity and breaks the crowd into either a mere mass of individuals or two mutually contending groups. Crowds therefore usually listen only to those who represent the dominating view. They shout down or otherwise suppress anyone who has a contrary attitude. The speakers that satisfy the crowd most are those who by temperament and emotional equipment are best able to express the crowd's own reactions. They do not so much dominate the crowd, as a rule, as mirror its own feeling.

Since discussion is impossible, the thinking of the crowd is forced to keep to the level that enlists the sympathies and interests of the great body of those there assembled. Necessarily this means catering to the lower levels of intelligence, and in this fashion the crowd creates the character that really brings it into disrepute because of its lack of mentality.

The crowd can easily be exploited. He who can manipulate its emotions may have for a time the advantages of the hero. He can bring out the weakest and meanest reac-

tions of those who are temporarily caught by his magnetism or his oratory or his clever way of playing upon their feelings. This power, though transitory, is so great, as history abundantly demonstrates, as to bring the mass of people under the sway of its leader. Having the crowd in his hands for the time he is free to turn their hostility into the channel that pleases him most.

The mob is a crowd driven by the pugnacious instinct. The gathering can be easily turned into a mob, particularly under the sway of oratory. A very interesting incident showing the development of a mob recently occurred in a settlement in Boston. The people of the neighborhood had come together to witness an amateur play. They represented largely two groups of European immigrants. At the time an election was taking place in Europe, of the greatest emotional interest to these American-Europeans. To the surprise of the head of the settlement, just before the play was to start, the orderly gathering became a fighting mob, without any knowledge on her part as to what started the uprising. The play had to be abandoned and the police called. Eventually it was found that the disturbance had all resulted from a quarrel starting between two members of the different groups in their argument concerning European policy. Evidently if the play had started sooner and the attention of the group had been concentrated upon it, the mob would not have sprung into existence.

Another demonstration of the way a mob can be created is given by McDougall. "It was my good fortune to witness the almost instantaneous spread of anger through a crowd of five thousand warlike savages in the heart of Borneo. Representatives of all the tribes of a large district of Sarawak had been brought together by the resident magistrate for the purpose of strengthening friendly rela-

tions and cementing peace between the various tribes. All went smoothly, and the chiefs surrounded by their followers were gathered together in a large hall, rudely constructed of timber, to make public protestations of friendship. An air of peace and good will pervaded the assembly, until a small piece of wood fell from the roof upon the head of one of the leading chiefs, making a slight wound from which the blood trickled. Only the immediate neighbors of this chief observed the accident or could perceive its effect; nevertheless in the space of a few seconds a wave of angry emotion swept over the whole assembly, and a general and bloody fight would have at once commenced, but that the Resident had insisted upon all weapons being left in the boats on the river 200 yards away. The great majority of the crowd rushed headlong to fetch their weapons from their boats, while the few who remained on the ground danced in fury or rushed to and fro gesticulating wildly. Happily the boats were widely scattered along the banks of the river, so that it was possible for the Resident, by means of persuasion, threats, and a show of armed force, to prevent the hostile parties coming together again with their weapons in hand."[1]

The most desperate sort of gregarious reaction is the panic. This is the activity of a group of people under the sway of fear. All sense of discipline and moral responsibility is tossed to the winds. Individuals act contrary to their ordinary behavior, as persons beside themselves. The operations of intelligence are temporarily paralyzed; the dictates of prudence are forgotten. Individuals as in a frenzy rush hither and thither, doing foolish things, and many pay the penalty of their lives for their lack of judgment. A panic can be created almost in an

(1) McDougall, W., The Group Mind, pp. 37-38.

instant under favorable circumstances, as when the crowd at the theater hears the cry of fire and a sense of danger spreads through the audience. This is particularly apt to happen if there has been such an occurrence recently and its danger has been suggested by newspaper accounts of the former happening. Even disciplined soldiers, once they give way to fear, often react with the behavior of those dominated by panic. Their habits of self-control drilled into them by long effort are thrown aside.

The panic can be prevented as easily as it can be started. Anything that will create in the majority a sense of prudence and judgment will forbid the outburst of the spirit of panic. Exhibitions of courage by outstanding persons will sometimes accomplish this. Humor has been known not only to prevent the mob, but also the panic. Any conscious preparation against panic will tend to prevent its occurence. In printing the theater program the statement of what one should do in case of fire, and the description of the exits with the announcement of how much time is required to empty the theater tends to create the thought of what to do in case of danger, and this leads to confidence. Under most circumstances it eliminates all danger of panic in the theater. The exhibition of intense terror, as when one individual rushes from his theater seat to the nearest exit shouting, is the most dangerous stimulation. On the other hand the sight of an orchestra continuing its music as the smoke pours from the stage suppresses tendencies to panic and the audience calmly walks out.

The gregarious tendency shows itself in human conduct in all sorts of ways. One of the most important is its power to create in us all, in varying degrees, a desire to conform to the customary behavior about us. Evidence of this appears in the power that the conventional style

has to exert its dominance upon people. We dress uncomfortably and often unattractively in order to follow the style. We are self-conscious and uneasy if we find ourselves wearing what others have ceased to wear, and as quickly as possible we change to the new style. A boatload of immigrants are dressed in their Sunday best when the boat lands. Soon they find themselves distinguished by their variance from American habits of dress and in a very few days most of them discard forever the dress that has previously been their habit. They imitate as closely as possible what seems to be the vogue in the new country.

As we conform in dress, so we try to conform in more serious ways. The rapid spread of verbal expressions indicates the contagion of language, which rests primarily on gregarious imitation. Human nature in the same way tends to react to gregarious stimulation in opinion and belief. The group-influences that operate to build up public opinion attempt to make the fullest possible use of this gregarious tendency. This is well seen in the influence of newspapers. The newspaper in its origin had a gregarious character and has now developed into the most penetrating of all the influences of gregarious life.

As the gregarious tendency elevates uniformity it represses individuality. It is difficult for one to think his own thoughts, do his own ways, form his own judgments, if he is susceptible to the influence of the surrounding herd. A striking illustration of the painful reactions to intense gregarious life by men whose former habits expressed greater individuality than that afforded by the new situation was seen in the country boy's experience in the army cantonment. Coming as he did from a small country village where he had never mingled with a great crowd for any length of time, he found himself a mere unit of a great

assemblage which in every way stimulated and made use of gregarious habits. He was obliged to eat with a great number of people, sleep in large dormitories, drill in companies and from morning until night he found himself under the sway of gregarious conditions. In certain cases he found it almost impossible to conform to the new environment. Social workers in the cantonments tell us that it was occasionally necessary to provide opportunities for these boys to be by themselves for an hour or more every day that they might regain a sense of individuality until they had become more accustomed to the new conditions. Once they had become fully accustomed to the gregarious life most of them found it tremendously fascinating, and as the social psychologist prophesied, many of them settled in great cities after the war and found it impossible to be happy for any length of time in the former environment of their small village.

The newspaper reader illustrates the gregarious tendency toward lost individuality, for it is a common experience to find the reader of the morning paper not only talking about a definite event but reacting to it in the way the paper suggested and directly opposite to the reactions of another group who happened to read a different paper and receive a different suggestion.

A striking reaction in human conduct is the pleasure that the gregarious experience gives in its lifting of responsibility. Life is so full of repressions, that all of us feel to some extent, and some of us a great deal, the coercion of social influence. The interest in camping is based in part upon the relief that a temporary departure from ordinary gregarious influences brings to the modern man, and in every way this deserves to be stressed since it is one of the ways of getting an antidote for our excessive gregariousness.

To a greater degree, however, the mob offers freedom from this sense of responsibility. This must be remembered in interpreting mob spirit; otherwise one would lose all confidence in human nature. It is not pleasant to see in a photograph the agreeable emotions expressed upon the faces of young men and women gathered about the bonfire in which is burning the body of a human being, as some of our authentic photographs of American city race riots demonstrate. It would seem at first thought as if these individuals were desperately cruel and were unlike the normal human being. Their reaction however can only be understood by remembering that they are at the time under the sway of gregarious impulse and are not fully conscious of their own reactions. When they awake later from their gregarious debauchery, and with a sense of individual responsibility look back upon what they have done, their behavior becomes as inexplicable to them as it is to us. This is an extreme picture of the utter abandonment of human nature when thoroughly intoxicated with gregarious impulses; it certainly represents the herd tendency rather than cruelty or vengeance.

The gregarious tendency also influences conduct by developing a sense of importance. One feels power because he is associated with a great multitude, and they are powerful. Without doubt those who suffer from social inferiority or who feel their social impotence, whether actual or imagined, are especially prone to seek gregarious relationships. The member of the party is no longer by himself. He is elevated to a sense of importance because everything that concerns the party concerns him and its success gives him a sense of prestige. Much of the partisanship that gathers about modern sport is based upon this sense of prestige through the identification of the spectator with his team so that vicariously he obtains success in its success

and suffers defeat in its failure. Doubtless this gregarious tendency in sport is a safety valve in modern life to a considerable extent and softens the distinctions and differences that are separating influences. The athletic game cuts through all levels of society and brings an emotional comradeship that could be produced in no other way, and to a large degree lessens the antagonisms of everyday life.

Much of the influence of advertising is gregarious in origin. We like to have what others have, go where others go, and the writer of the advertisement plays this tendency of ours to the utmost. The clerk often says, "This is what everybody is getting," confident that he has given us the strongest motive possible for buying. In this way modern advertising caters to uniformity and by appealing to gregarious desires creates discontent among those who can not have what others have. Even the automobile is purchased by some who do not care so much for the thing itself as they suppose, but who enormously enjoy the satisfaction of having what their neighbors and associates have.

One of the most significant of all the influences of gregariousness in modern life is the universal tendency in civilized lands for people to leave the rural environment and settle in cities. To be sure, this movement is not entirely a gregarious one. Economic interest has a large part in this drift, but it is by no means altogether economic. Everywhere the influence of gregarious conditions is popularized and the natural instinct to be with others is intensified. The city newspaper, read far out in the country, gives country people often more knowledge of urban life than of the social experience of their own settlement. The pleasures of the gregarious experience are sometimes made so inviting in a short visit to the city that the isolated environment of the country home seems tame. Specific experiences will be recalled by the reader, of country bred

men and women who in a short time have become so satisfied with herd life that they have not been able to enjoy a visit to their former home for more than a few days even though they have had a genuine love for their parents and a keen interest in their former associates.

Travel has become so easy that habits that tend to tie one in the rural environment are either easily broken or not at all formed. At the same time the city reaches out and brings its appeal to the young men and women a hundred miles away in the open country. It is not strange that as a result of this, people everywhere are on the move from the countryside to the city. Persons of influence who work in the country, such as the teacher or minister or doctor are often themselves captivated by the urban life and act as missionaries teaching those who come under their influence the desirability of migrating from country to city.

Even the government finds itself catering to the gregarious cravings. Great spectacles, celebrations, reviews, are instituted largely that people may be given the gregarious satisfactions they desire, even though there is little utility as the result of the expenditure of considerable time and money. The increase in holidays is evidence of the desire of city people to have opportunity for a more intensified gregarious satisfaction than the ordinary day provides. It is interesting in this connection to notice that most of the suggestions for the addition of more holidays come from city people, whether expressed in the legislature or the newspaper.

The most unfortunate result of gregariousness in present social life is the great confidence of people in what may well be called class thinking. The confidence that people have in ideas that are widespread reminds one of both superstition and day-dreaming. They believe that what

everybody assents to must be so true as to forbid any investigation. The most obnoxious traditions and unprofitable processes of social reaction can be largely established by general assent. Thus we have illustrations of the sinister effect of group suggestion which may be cunningly operated by some one or some group or some organization that is anxious to exploit human weakness for selfish purposes.

Mass thinking also resembles day-dreaming in that it has in it an optimism which seems to build upon the idea that what many want to have true must become true. Meanwhile the actual conditions prevail without regard to the multitude who hold some definite opinion at variance with the facts. Causes move irresistibly onward and the social organism is led into painful experience as a child lacking judgment walks into danger, happy until the moment of pain arises. The most risky element in human society is the present tyranny of mass thinking. Ideas that the many have they wish to keep with a stubbornness which is positively inimical to their own welfare. Necessarily they hound the innovator and stone the prophet and as a consequence suffer delay in their normal progress.

The best antidote for gregarious mass thinking is education. Any development of intelligence tends to weaken excessive submission to social group coercion. This fact shows itself in every form of behavior. Not only are the intelligent persons most likely to form individual judgments regarding political, economic and religious interests, but it is also true that trained people are less likely to join the mob or come under the sway of panic. The trained individual has inner life that makes it unnecessary for him to depend so much upon outward circumstances. The truer the education, the richer his resources and the less dependent he is upon external stimulations. The indi-

vidual variation is of course great, but of all the possible influences none can modify submission to gregarious pressure as can education. This is very fortunate because it discloses the only pathway which leads to democratic security. An uneducated democracy is bound to suffer from suggestion and mass thinking; a democracy with a trained citizenship affords the most promising opportunity for rational adjustment in political and economic experience. The schools are the bulwark against menacing gregariousness in its myriad forms.

Egoism, in whatever expression it takes, antagonizes gregarious dominance except in those cases where one suffering from social inferiority obtains his prestige by membership in some organization. Egoism, however, tends to antisocial attitudes and wins its freedom from gregariousness by separation. Education leaves one sensitive to the life of his fellows but independent from their suggestion. He does not cut away his sympathy; he simply maintains his individuality.

Gregariousness shows itself in every type of educational activity. The child enjoys school in part always because he is a gregarious animal and loves the association that the schoolroom furnishes. All the vexing problems of mass thinking, mob spirit, and even panic, are possible experiences at school. The law forces the training of the children as a needed protection against panic in case of fire and other menacing circumstances.

If the schools are to fulfill their social function, attention must be directed, from the earliest grades through the high school, to the building up of a prophylactic against mass judgments and social suggestion. The teacher needs, especially in such courses as history and civics, to bring out clearly to the student the importance of reasoned opinion and individual responsibility. Unless stress is

placed upon the developing of these qualities the contribution that education furnishes to national security must be less than it ought to be. In the teaching process the teacher should demand personal reactions and encourage any original judgment. In this way the child gets the habit of thinking for himself. It behooves the parent even more than the teacher to stress personal response as contrasted with subservience to the group.

Parents often make use of group opinion to force the child to behavior which is far less advantageous to the child than the slight variations he spontaneously assumes. Parents would not urge the children to trivial uniformity by saying, "This is what all the children do," or "This is what all the children wear," if it were clearly understood that this very argument is leading the child to discount his own individuality and to react more constantly in harmony with outside suggestion. A strong personality must have a degree of freedom from group coercion. The home most of all can provide this opportunity and only so can the developing personality receive the preparation that is demanded in these days of organized propaganda and persistent social agitation.

Topics for Discussion

1. What is meant by the gregarious instinct?
2. How does gregariousness show itself among children, savages, modern adults?
3. How has gregariousness influenced social evolution?
4. What is consciousness of kind? How does it show itself in school life?
5. What are the types of gregarious organization?
6. What are the characteristics of the crowd? Of the mob?
7. Is modern society growing more mob-minded?
8. What influence has education upon the crowd attitude?

9. Does education decrease the tendency to panic?
10. How do gregarious experiences give pleasure?
11. How does gregariousness influence the city-drift?
12. What gregarious influences appear in school life?
13. How can education protect against propaganda?

Topics for Reports

1. The meaning of gregariousness.
2. The value of gregariousness among animals.
3. Consciousness of kind and school spirit.
4. Analysis of crowd-mindedness.
5. Discussion as a preventive of crowd-attitude.
6. The history of "school strikes" in the United States.
7. Training against panic.
8. Newspapers and social suggestibility.
9. The social significance of advertising.
10. Gregarious superstition in modern life.
11. Educational propaganda.
12. Dangers of mass thinking in modern life.
13. The history of social crazes in the past.
14. The urbanizing of rural people.
15. The social significance of school athletics.

Supplementary Readings

Edman, I., *Human Traits and their Social Significance, ch. 5,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920.

Groves, E. R., *Rural Problems of Today, ch. 9,* Association Press, New York, 1918.

Groves, E. R., *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare, chs. 3, 4,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922.

Groves, E. R., *The Urban Complex,* Sociological Review, Vol. 12, pp. 73-81, Autumn, 1920.

Lloyd, A. H., *Newspaper Conscience—A Study in Half-Truths,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 27, pp. 197-210, Sept., 1921.

Lumley, F. E., *Slogans as a Means of Social Control,* Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 16, pp. 121-34.

MacCurdy, J. T., *Problems in Dynamic Psychology, ch. 21,* Macmillan, New York, 1922.

McDougall, W., *An Introduction to Social Psychology, ch. 12,* Luce & Co., Boston, 1918.

Miller, H. A., *The Group as an Instinct,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 27, pp. 334-43, Nov., 1921.

Strong, E. K., Jr., *Control of Propaganda as a Psychological Problem,* Scientific Monthly, Vol. 14, pp. 234-52, March, 1922.

Tansley, A. G., *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, chs. 19, 20,* Allen & Unwin, London, 1920.

Trotter, W., *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War,* Macmillan, New York, 1917.

Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology, chs. 10, 12,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924.

Cason, H., *Gregariousness Considered as a Common Habit,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 19, pp. 96-105, April-June, 1924.

Gault, R. H., *Social Psychology, chs. 6, 7,* Henry Holt, New York, 1923.

CHAPTER X

The Instinct of Self-assertion

Human impulses, hereditary in origin, consolidate into habits that may be defined and classified with reference to their social significance. These consolidations[1] represent instinct in the narrow sense, emotion, and habit. They are called instincts, urges, and pattern-reactions. It is important that any definition make clear the fact that they are products of social influences that have tended to check, modify, suppress, stimulate and encourage impulsive tendencies. They contain two elements, feeling-attitudes and drives toward action. Psychology for purposes of analysis has defined the first as emotion, the second as instinct. The sociologist finds these consolidations or organized impulsive activities indispensable for the understanding of human behavior. They permit him to catalog the fundamental social modes of behavior from the viewpoint of the interests or purposes that distinguish the groups of habit-reactions.

Among such urges or consolidations is that of self-assertion. By general speech designated as a major human instinct,[2] self-assertion represents a social classification of various types of self-regarding response. Indeed the term might be made to include in a wide sense all purposeful activities since all of them are attempts to advance the welfare of the self. Self-preservation or self-assertion, however, as the term is commonly used denotes an activity

(1) Watson, J. B., Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist, p. 216.
(2) Groves, E. R., The Rural Mind and Social Welfare, p. 67.

that brings near to the center of consciousness self-regarding attitudes. The individual feels the urge to express his will, to maintain his position, to protect his reputation in the presence of others. Although self-assertion emphasizes the individual, it nevertheless requires a social background. The group-life gives self-assertion its possibility of expression.

The consolidated urge of self-assertion shows itself in various forms. We have, for example, positive and negative self-assertion. Each attempts to win attention for the individual, but the first is aggressive and the second assumes the role of meekness or self-abasement. In one, the individual expects to force himself upon the attention of his associates; in the other, he hopes to get the attention by winsome subserviency.

Any interpretation of social behavior necessarily stresses self-assertion. Not only do we trace much of the momentum of human activity to self-assertion as a source but we also find that we can catalog the results of behavior in terms of self-assertive satisfactions. Psychiatrists who have had to deal with practical, concrete difficulties of human behavior, due to serious mental abnormality, have come to recognize the unwholesome possibilities of self-assertion. Unreasonable strivings to advance the self have been given the designation "will-to-power" cravings. Alfred Adler,[1] an Austrian psychiatrist, has made much of the egoistic cravings as causes of psychopathic disorders; and as a result of his writings, self-assertion, as expressed in will-to-power cravings, has come to have a new and deeper significance for the sociologist.

The material that interprets human self-assertion, as in the case of the other pattern-reactions, must be gathered

(1) Adler, A., The Neurotic Constitution.

from the everyday life of people. Human nature does not express itself instinctively in the sense that animal nature is the product of instincts. Man ceases to have the original, automatic, unmodified instinctive responses in his ordinary life long before maturing consciousness carries forward the memory of his experiences. It is the sociological product built through processes of habit-construction upon the original hereditary basis that concerns us. Important as is the study of animal psychology, it is not the study of human mental experience, and it is necessary to distinguish this fact in any interpretation of man's instinctive behavior. So long as we deal with animal reactions we are not handling the material that is characteristic of man.[1] The reactions that originate in human contacts interest us for they may furnish the material that gives us insight into the social conduct of humans. When man developed to the point of having a self-conscious personality, a new element, not found even in the higher animals, entered; and if the meaning of this is neglected the full significance of man's social life is lost.[2] Man is not a mere socialized animal. He does not meet his social necessities by automatic reactions of a purely instinctive type. There is a qualitative difference due to the new element, personality.

In discussing human conduct it is imperative that we notice how the social situation, the influence of association, causes the difficulties that we charge up to self-assertion. The impulse by itself, unrelated to the social environment, would cause no one difficulty. We would simply respond to our environment in a definite way and our activity,

(1) Glueck, B., The Ego Instinct, The Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 16, p. 217, Oct., 1921.

(2) Ward, L., Mind as a Social Factor, Glimpses of the Cosmos, pp. 361-79.

according to circumstances, would be wise or foolish; and its consequences, good or bad, would soon show themselves. The human situation is not at all like that. The influences that operate upon impulsive tendencies for the purpose of social control make the difference. It is the sociological element that creates the problem.

In our social contacts we are ever experiencing inner desires regarding ourselves that are essentially composed of self-regarding attitudes. We have a goal for the self, an accomplishment in terms of personal attainment, which provides the object and the vitality of our effort in a given undertaking. In the words of James, we are working toward a definite type of "me," a certain experience for the self. We picture ourselves as having certain satisfactions, as arriving at a selected position. These self-regarding urges or strivings come out very clearly and commonly in our day-dreaming, also in our night dreams and in our conversation. The adolescent day-dreams of himself as the hero of a conflagration, when he alone keeps his head and runs enormous risk to save the lives and property of his friends and even of his enemies. This dream leads deliciously to the climax, when he is heaped with adulation. With slight variations he may repeat this, or a different type of day-dream, during a period of many months.

The young man dreams, while sleeping, that the more advanced position for which he has daily been striving in his actual work is offered him at a salary twenty-five per cent larger than he had understood to be attached to it. After accepting it, he finds that the manager who made the offer was frantic in his eagerness to secure the services of so valuable a man, and had suffered agonies of suspense until the contract was signed. When he awakes, the young man is a bit dazed to find that the offer his sleeping self

so calmly accepted was not for a five thousand dollar job, but for a fifty thousand dollar one. He remembers noting when he signed the dream-contract that the salary was identical with that of the President of the United States, as reported on the big Miscellaneous Chart that stood near the teacher's desk in the little district school of his country-bred days. In the dream fifty thousand dollars made no more impression than five thousand dollars, now he is awake.

In conversation with an acquaintance whom she considers financially better off than herself, a matron says sweetly, "You have such an attractive little house." In a flash she remembers that this was the one point of superiority she had been able to establish in her own mind, in reviewing their comparative situations. But that she should have said it thus bluntly, her own larger house in view at the moment—she marks herself down as idiotic, but never fails to feel a little thrill of warm delight in regretting the inadvertent word.

We are forever struggling for this, for that, for something else, when our underlying desire is to make of ourselves something corresponding to our ideal. The goal we set for ourselves in a definite enterprise may be good; it may be socially bad. For us, in any case, it is desirable. Therefore it drives us toward action.

Self-assertion as it shows itself from time to time in the conduct of an individual is the result of early training, personal experience, education and suggestion operating upon the basic material of the instinct. In one's self-assertive behavior may be seen all the results of contact, direct and indirect, which has had a modifying effect upon the original impulses. The result is that the individual gets so far away from the instinct itself that he does not realize that behind the ambition upon which his attention is

focused is the momentum of a powerful instinctive craving. If the meaning of the struggle could be brought into consciousness, the fundamental source of desire recognized as self-preservation, then the individual would not so deeply suffer when he fails to accomplish the ends for which he strives.

What are the egoistic desires that are common in human conduct? They have been defined by Professor Thomas. First is the desire for security. Under social stimulus this desire has been widened until it contains a great amount of self-assertion. In our usual experiences we have little thought of physical peril. Our danger takes on social form. We desire security in our associations. We want to hold our present reputation or to advance it. We covet more popularity. We crave a larger sense of power. We hope to lift our family to a higher standard of life. Our security has to do with a multitude of interests. These interests are in turn reactions from our social contacts. Our desire for security may run ahead into the third and fourth generation and involve accumulation of property and the process and certainty of transmitting it. We may seek to advance in our profession, to extend our business; or our urge for security may exhaust itself in our effort to keep our job. For many in industry certainty of employment is the most persistent form of the desire for security.

Recognition is the second egoistic, self-assertive desire. It is at times difficult to distinguish this from the wish for security. Desire for recognition makes us try to make an impression upon our associates. Fashion gets its vitality from this craving for recognition. In dress, in house-furnishings, style of automobile, even in the type of our reading, the content of our small talk, we want to make the people in our own group catch their breath and comment inwardly, "He is up-to-the-minute—perhaps just a

shade ahead of it." For most of us this becomes a defensive contest, in which we try not to become conspicuously unfashionable. This is true of those who scorn the tyranny of fashion as well as of those who are hopeless of meeting its demands.

Much of the competition and rivalry of modern life has for its purpose social recognition. The doctor desires to make a name for himself. The student works for the prize, the honors, the degree, not because of any sense of their utility but because from them he expects social recognition. Some work for fame, deceiving themselves into supposing that they will be long remembered. We realize, however, in our sane moments, that we cannot expect to be remembered for any great length of time. Nevertheless, the craving, driven by the deep-seated impulse for recognition, intrudes upon our consciousness and shows itself in our reveries. We wish to be remembered. We imagine ourselves remembered. We act in the spirit of one who expects to be remembered. Gifts are made, monuments built, organizations established as a result of this tremendous craving for remembrance. The impulse vitalizes our belief in immortality. It provides a motive for our ethical control. We avoid the tempting evil choice from our realization that it is out of harmony with the reputation we desire to establish for ourselves and by which we wish to be remembered.

Another striving that comes from the egoistic tendency is the desire for intimate response. Anyone that watches the very little child as he develops soon notices how early he takes great delight in having from his mother experiences of intimate response. Indeed the pleasureableness of these early experiences frequently becomes an obstacle to emotional maturity. One wishes from the parent the same treatment he received as a child. This craving for inti-

mate response is one of the profoundest of human experiences. It certainly forms a part of the love experience which we usually ascribe to sex attraction. Literature teems with this motive of conduct. The craving for intimate association, closest possible comradeship, has never been more beautifully expressed than by Alfred Tennyson in "In Memoriam." For example:

"Dark house, by which once more I stand
Here in the long unlovely street,
Doors, where my heart was used to beat
So quickly, waiting for a hand,

A hand that can be clasp'd no more—
Behold me, for I cannot sleep,
And like a guilty thing I creep
At earliest morning to the door.

He is not here; but far away
The noise of life begins again,
And ghastly thro' the drizzling rain
On the bald street breaks the blank day."

. . . . . .

"For this alone on Death I wreak
The wrath that garners in my heart;
He put our lives so far apart
We cannot hear each other speak."

. . . . . .

"Far off thou art, but ever nigh;
I have thee still, and I rejoice;
I prosper, circled with thy voice;
I shall not lose thee tho' I die."

As in the other expressions of self-assertion the craving for intimate response from some other human being usually takes a definite, concrete form and we feel that by attain-

ing a specific relationship we shall be satisfied. Experience, however, teaches us our mistake and we attempt to discover some new association that will completely satisfy. Behind every adventure into the realm of friendship is the instinctive urge itself that cannot be contented with any relationship, however close and beautiful. Doubtless this explains some of the marriage failures. Disillusionment becomes disappointment. Excessive demands are made of the marriage relation and bitterness follows the creeping in of even the slightest disillusionment. The mother expects to find in her first born a perfect response of intimate love. Later she learns that she must release the child somewhat from such an ideal association or she prevents his maturity. Thus we are driven by self-assertion to seek from friend, lover or child a full response in our endeavor to express our self-cravings. There is a common loneliness, felt most by the finer types of personality, that Frederick Robertson has made the theme of his "Illusiveness of Life."

Without question the psychiatrist, especially the psychoanalyst, ministers often to this well-nigh universal desire to enjoy a complete, confidential relationship with another human being that will permit, without any attempt at control or scrutiny, a pouring out of the inmost feelings and thoughts of one's deepest self. Providing an opportunity for an unburdening of this sort is naturally helpful for one who is suffering from repression, pent-up fears and a sense of social isolation. Charles Darwin tells us that his father discovered in his medical practice that what some of his patients desired was not medicine but an opportunity for a confidential talk regarding their own problems. "His father was a man of unusual insight into human nature, for he practiced the present psychoanalytic principle of inducing an effective catharsis and readjust-

ment in his patients as a method of treating the distress caused by affective suppression—anxiety."[1] Ministers and priests also have always ministered to this desire for intimate association and it has been one of the ways in which they have been most useful.

Finally we have the egoistic striving for social experience. We wish to push our self-life beyond its usual frontier. We seek the zest of tackling something new and different. We covet an opportunity to try our resources, to demonstrate ourselves, to advertise our possibilities, in some novel, and perhaps to our friends unexpected, form of behavior. It is self-preservation aggressively expressing itself. We enlarge our life by extending it. Especially do those who are suffering disappointment or discontent desire the novel experience. Monotonous life, whether due to ennui or the pressure of irksome toil, leads to the craving for something new and different, some experience as yet untasted. Day-dreaming clothes these desires for adventurous experience with the garments of fancy. Story-writing caters to it, as one may easily discover if he investigates the reading of those who lead pent-up lives.

In all these strivings there is abundant opportunity for emotional conflict. For example, how easily one may feel that in some position that means much to him he is slipping from his former security. The desire for recognition may become more intense as it wins success. The emotions of ordinary friendly contacts may stir deep emotional resentment. New experience may merely sharpen the appetite for still more. Like the lover of travel one may go from experience to experience, ever seeking and never fully satisfied.

Viewed from the sociological level these conflicts result from the difficulty of bringing into sensible balance the

(1) Kempf, E. J., Psychopathology, pp. 210-11.

strivings and the equipment of the person. By equipment is meant not merely the original capacity, but in addition all the circumstances of the person's life that hamper or advance his aspirations. Lumped together, all the resources of the individual represent the opportunity he has for self-expression. They are his equipment as he faces his environment and attempts self-assertion.

Our task is to find and keep a normal balance between equipment and self-assertion, the two elements that produce our changing self-esteem. For, as James has said, in the equation

$$\text{Self-esteem} = \frac{\text{Success}}{\text{Pretensions}}$$

we can increase the fraction by diminishing the denominator as well as by increasing the numerator. If we had a normal balance between resources and ambition we would strive for what was attainable and we would trust instinct as does the animal. But our social experience has more to do with our strivings than do the objective facts as to the degree of hope we really have in our self-seeking. Intense strivings, as in the case of neurotics, may accompany limited resources and the person may be driven forth to battle without the slightest hope of victory. In cases such as these there is need of a reasonable expectation on the part of the patient, but of course this just program for life is the very thing that the sufferer resents and sets himself against. The result is that he lashes himself with the whip of his own ambitions and fails at times, as a consequence, even in the doing of those things for which he is properly equipped.

Not in the sanest life is there any hope of one final adjustment between desire and attainment. We cannot be guaranteed for a period of time like expensive watches and clocks. Our equipment is in constant flux. It ebbs

and flows like the tides. If we have more we must expect of ourselves more success. If we are less in energy in comparison with a period when we had fewer competitors, if we are mentally stiffer from mere growth in age, whatever the facts that decrease our resources, we must demand less of ourselves than formerly. If, on the other hand, we have multiplied our earlier personal capital, then our operations should proportionately advance. In a matter that calls for such delicacy of judgment, such changing adaptations to external fact, such putting aside of one's own bias and the false counsel of tender-hearted friends, it is small wonder that many there are that find a sane ordering of ambition a hopeless task. There is risk in expecting too much of ourselves. There is danger and reproach in not demanding enough. Somewhere is the golden mean. To help us find it is the business of education.

Topics for Discussion

1. What is the biological significance of the instinct of self-assertion?
2. What is the difference between negative and positive self-assertion?
3. What is meant by "will-to-power"?
4. How does will-to-power show itself in school behavior?
5. How does adult will-to-power sometimes appear in school instruction or administration?
6. How do dreams and day-dreams illustrate will-to-power cravings?
7. What are the usual methods of expressing the desire for recognition in modern social life?
8. How does the craving for intimate response show itself in school experience?
9. To what extent should education utilize will-to-power cravings in children?
10. How can school discipline injure self-esteem?
11. What should the school do for the conceited child?

Topics for Reports

1. The evolutionary value of self-assertion.
2. McDougall's analysis of self-assertion.
3. The Adlerian psychology.
4. Will-to-power in history.
5. Will-to-power in modern industry.
6. Will-to-power in rural life.
7. Will-to-power in city life.
8. Will-to-power in psychopathic disorders.
9. The educational value of self-esteem.
10. Self-assertion in the teacher.
11. Analysis of cases of conceit in children.

Supplementary Readings

Allport, F. H. and Allport, G. W., *Personality Traits: Their Classification and Measurement,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 16, pp. 6-40, April, 1921.

Edman, I., *Human Traits and their Social Significance, ch. 8,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920.

Glueck, B., *The Ego Instinct,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 16, pp. 217-31, Oct., 1921.

Groves, E. R., *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare, ch. 5,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922.

Hollander, B., *The Psychology of Misconduct, Vice and Crime, ch. 9,* Macmillan, New York, 1923.

MacCurdy, J. T., *Problems in Dynamic Psychology, ch. 19,* Macmillan, New York, 1922.

MacDougall, R., *The Social Basis of Individuality,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 18, pp. 1-20, July, 1912.

Sidis, B., *Nervous Ills, their Cause and Cure, ch. 1,* Badger, Boston, 1922.

Tansley, A. G., *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, ch. 18,* Allen & Unwin, London, 1920.

White, W. A., *The Mental Hygiene of Childhood, chs. 2, 3,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1919.

CHAPTER XI

The Social Significance of Self-assertion

Self-assertion expresses itself constantly in social behavior. Motives that control social conduct are largely rooted in this self-regarding instinct. The desire for superiority, the various forms of rivalry, are of course, expressions of self-assertion.

It is well for us to recognize the opportunity the crowd provides for self-assertion. Feelings of inferiority may be forgotten or overcome by one who joins in the mob. Just as the family life opens up opportunities for those who outside the home feel themselves cowed by circumstances, so the mob gives to some an opportunity, through their association with the others, to develop a sense of power. The individual feels himself elevated, magnified, given unusual and perhaps unexpected power from the fact that he enters into a relationship which in contrast with his ordinary experiences affords a tremendous amount of satisfaction. The fact that he as an individual counts for so little passes out of his consciousness and in its place comes the sense of importance and power that feeds his vanity and relieves his long pent-up and irritated self-assertion. Since the crowd experience is increasingly prevalent and characteristic of urban life, and since the crowd so easily becomes the mob, self-assertion, unless other corrective influences are brought into play, more and more will express itself in the socially dangerous mob-spirit. The mob-type of thinking and feeling, with its stress upon uniformity and solidarity, will have a tendency to win the sympathies of those who are lacking in individual con-

fidence and therefore are sensitive to the joys of gregarious contacts and like-mindedness.

An interesting illustration of a social expression of self-assertion is the almost universal love of membership in secret organizations. In the savage secret society as in the Greek letter society of the American college we find the motives of membership mostly rooted in self-assertion. In college, for example, the "making of a society" has so large a value that students have left an institution because their lack of social popularity has forbidden them the distinction of membership, even though it is common knowledge that the membership itself is usually of little practical importance. As modern life becomes more coercive and self-esteem is more hampered by the impersonal relationships of complex urban life, there must be an increasing tendency to find in secret societies a means of insuring a degree of self-esteem.

It is especially interesting to notice the large place that the secret society has in the life of the southern negro. Conscious of feelings of social inferiority, the negro instinctively turns to the secret organization for prestige. To a lesser extent the same means of gratifying self-assertion is found in the behavior of the northern negro. Speaking of the southern negro, Odum says: "Perhaps no phase of negro life is so characteristic of the race and has developed so rapidly as that which centers around the secret societies and fraternal orders. In the chapter which follows the effort is made to present a general view rather than exhaustive details, many of which it is not possible to obtain. The facts here presented are representative and typical; they combine the essentials that are embodied in the fraternal organization as a social factor among the negroes, and indicate the position it holds in the Negro's estimation. This phase of negro life has grown to such an extent

that in any study of the negro community it must be ranked as an influence with the home, the school, and the church. Indeed it has become an institution and at times is ranked by the negroes above the other institutions, in part combining these with business and personal interests. The business of the fraternal orders is ranked along with the trades and commercial interests; they are given a prominent place on the program of the business leagues. The success of such organizations is rated with pride as a distinct business achievement. Church members often leave the church for the lodge; business hours are arranged to meet its demands, and school is dismissed that the children may attend the meeting of the juveniles. The negro esteems a prominent official place in his lodge a greater honor than a position of trust in his work. Managed by members of his own race, the lodge offers the negro a place wherein to identify his interests with those of his own people; even more than the church, it is an institution that appeals to him as his own. It thus satisfies a natural social want."(1)

"A single town having not more than five hundred colored inhabitants not infrequently has from fifteen to twenty subordinate lodges, each representing a different order. Many negroes belong to from three to five each, and the majority (of the regular lodge patrons and enthusiasts) belong to more than one. Indeed it is a source of great pride to be able to hold office in more than a single order, but as a rule every negro has a favorite one to which he is most loyal; this may be changeable, differing from year to year."(2)

An amusing incident observed in campus life demonstrates the mechanism by which loss of social esteem may

(1) Odum, H. W., Social and Mental Traits of the Negro, pp. 98-99.
(2) Ibid, p. 109.

be compensated by commitment to mob behavior. A student who almost never did any work in spoken form in her classes was always a puzzle to one instructor who was a friend of her parents. He was particularly anxious to help the girl develop her personality, but was unable to get her to take any considerable part in class recitations. She made up for that by her written work, but was the quietest student, and the one most lacking in confidence in all her classes. One day when she was a senior, the interested instructor found her taking charge of a certain mild type of hazing in the college. He watched her and found that she was the most aggressive of all the seniors in inflicting upon the poor freshmen the trivial and more or less foolish regulations that had become a tradition at that college. By herself she was nothing; she counted as nothing in the college life, but because of her mere membership in the class she had finally arrived at a place where she was permitted to exercise authority. To her this was such a delightful experience that she went far beyond anybody else in exercising it.

In Tom Brown's School Days, Hughes has used the character of Flashman to bring out a reaction familiar to all who have had charge of the discipline of youth. The boy who was lacking in stamina and could not equally compete with his fellows became the bully. Tom and his friend attempting to rebel against the perpetual bullying of Flashman are told by an older boy of a former successful insurrection against similar oppression.

"'Was Flashman here then?' 'Yes! and a dirty little snivelling, sneaking fellow he was too. He never dared to join us, and used to toady the bullies by offering to fag for them, and peaching against the rest of us.'"

The boy who leads in the hazing is likely to have in the ordinary life of the college little reputation or follow-

ing. Indeed, the mob is generally led by those previously unfamiliar with power, and its danger is always increased by this fact. The person who first tastes the joys of great power, and who perhaps has felt deeply an irritating social subordination, must be expected to use his opportunity to drain himself of his former sense of unimportance. The mob leader therefore will always tend to use power for an intense subjective satisfaction even when the mob might accomplish all its purposes with a milder form of behavior.

The feeling of coercion and dissatisfaction generally felt today by the workers in industry, without regard to its justification, creates an emotional foundation upon which in the conditions of city life mob spirit can easily be built. The deeper meaning of strikes will not be found by one who ignores the satisfaction the worker gets by feeling his power as one of a great mass solidified into agreement by intense emotional reactions. So long as society withholds social esteem from a great multitude of workers, by a traditional disregard of the social significance of productive toil, an emotional tension, a self-assertive strain, is imposed that creates the conditions for restlessness, mob-mindedness and in its extreme expression, for revolution. So long as the working man feels that he is put into an inferior position, nothing that is done for him in the way of wages or leisure or even management, unless it takes away this feeling of inferiority, will give him in any degree contentment. He will become rather more discontented as his leisure is increased, for the more he has, the more he will claim social esteem; and so he will naturally struggle increasingly for expressions of his power, and will always find the strike emotionally more satisfying than any compromising agreement, even though the latter may be to his advantage. He will, therefore,

strike against his own interests; he will strike sometimes when he can without striking get the thing for which he strikes; he will strike for very trivial reasons, for the fundamental craving of his life is not wages, but social recognition.

The effect of changing from a position of social inferiority to a sense of ambition and power is interestingly reported by Place, an accurate observer of conditions among the English working classes following the Industrial Revolution. He writes with reference to the changes produced in the people of Lancashire by the Reform Agitation: "One of its effects has been almost, if not entirely, overlooked. . . . . It is that in spite of the demoralizing influence of many of our laws, and the operation of the poor-laws, it has impressed the morals and manners, and elevated the character of the working man. I speak from observation made on thousands of them, and I hold up this fact as enough of itself to satisfy any man not wholly ignorant of human nature as a very portentous circumstance. Look even to Lancashire. Within a few years a stranger walking through their towns was 'touted,' *i. e.* hooted, and an 'outcomling' was sometimes pelted with stones. 'Lancashire brute' was the common and appropriate appellation. Until very lately it would have been dangerous to have assembled 500 of them on any occasion. Bakers and butchers would at the least have been plundered. Now 100,000 people may be collected together and no riot ensue, and why? Why, but for the fact before stated, that the people have an object, the pursuit of which gives them importance in their own eyes, elevates them in their own opinion, and thus it is that the very individuals who would have been the leaders of the riot are the keepers of the peace. In every place as reform has advanced, drunkenness has retreated, and you may assume that a

cause which can operate so powerfully as to produce such a change, is capable of producing almost anything.''[1]

It is interesting from the viewpoint of self-assertion to analyze the revivals that formerly were so characteristic of American life. The coming of the evangelist offered to a large number of persons formerly with no social standing in the community, drunkards and such, a remarkable chance to redeem their self-esteem and by an easy process of alliance to be lifted to a position of distinction, perhaps influence. They became for a time a sort of community heroes, praised and made much of by the more reputable people of the community. It was certainly a dramatic and enormously gratifying reversal of fortune. It was not strange under such circumstances that there ensued a disposition on the part of the convert to continue to rehearse his former evil doings and to emphasize his earlier reputation since it magnified by contrast his new standing and strengthened his sense of his lately acquired self-importance.

Of late historical research has begun to appreciate the significance of the inferiority complex as it appears in revolution. The subjective element in agitation and political upheavals is greater than writers of the past have understood. As has been stated, the step between the role of the successful revolutionist and that of the futile visionary is short indeed.

''The genuine statesman will study his problems in a rational way, and will suggest a solution that fits the facts. The neurotic refuses to face the facts. Instead, he beats a retreat into his self-created world of ideas, all the time insisting that he is dealing with objective conditions. If he is able to convince enough of his contemporaries that

(1) Wallas, G., Life of Place, p. 145.

his world is the *real* one, he is hailed as a hero; if he fails so to convince them, he is treated as a harmless visionary, a mere radical dreamer. In temperament, in psychological make-up, and in potentiality, there is no great difference between the successful revolutionist and the harmless visionary. They both need attention. Which one a given individual may become depends in part upon circumstances, and in part upon his own complexes. If these complexes happen to harmonize, as it were, with the environment, then the dreamer is likely to become the revolutionist."(1)

A revolution offers the largest possible escape from feelings of social inferiority that can be had by any human experience. It generally reverses the social situation. It puts into power those that have felt inferior, and takes people from their place of power and puts them into an established state of inequality. Nor can one understand the brutalities of revolution unless this fact is kept in mind. In reading, for instance, what happened to the late Russian Czar and his family, everyone, surely, wonders how it came about. It seems such cruel folly. It will always be such a burden to the persons that were responsible. For six months the former royal family of Russia was subjected to unspeakably brutal treatment. Why did the people responsible allow that to happen? The Czar was helpless. It was for no personal advantage to those concerned. The bodies of the dead were not even robbed; and this has made it possible for us to know the fate of these unfortunate people. The cruelty shown this helpless family was merely the final climax of an emotional attitude. It was a wonderfully dramatic expression of the power of the craving for social reversal by those who had

(1) Harlow, R. V., A Psychological Study of Samuel Adams, Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 9, pp. 427-28, Oct., 1922.

tasted power in contrast with former social inferiority. Here were the rulers who were most responsible, supposedly, in the minds of the revolutionists for the coercion of the past. "Now, let them have their own medicine; let them drink deeply of the thing that we have been drinking of," would be the arguments, and then, after the rulers had been made to go through the ordeal the very persons responsible for it would probably greatly regret their brutality.

For pathological expressions of self-assertion, however, persons suffering from mental diseases are the most representative. The most striking social expression of the neurosis is its usual intense selfishness. Dr. Boris Sidis,[1] after long study of the psychopathic patient, declares that the one outstanding, characteristic symptom of the psychopath is his extreme selfishness. There is no greater egotism, he affirms, than that of the individual suffering from psychopathic disorders. His attention is ever upon himself. He is ready at any time to sacrifice his best friend or dearest relative if as a result he can add to his comfort or pleasure. The fate of a nation means nothing in comparison to personal satisfaction. Every unit is measured by its value to the egoism of the patient. All other considerations are ignored, if in any way health or personal interest may be advanced. His mind is always occupied with his own purposes and desires, for "every psychopathic case is essentially egoistic."[2]

No tyranny can be greater than that of the psychopath; in no place is more selfishness portrayed than in the home. The following is a characteristic exhibition of such neurasthenic despotism. The woman, who claimed to be ill, hounded her husband and manipulated the household in

(1) Sidis, B., Nervous Ills, pp. 116-30.
(2) Ibid, p. 115.

such a way as to make a short visit distinctly painful for the visitor. Because of her condition the actual work of housekeeping was largely done by her husband or mother-in-law. Her function was chiefly to command and to find fault. Her husband was, as one would expect, both unhappy and unsuccessful. His wife's selfishness spoiled his chances of professional advancement and he found it necessary from time to time to move away from one locality to start his hopeless career in a new territory. The mother-in-law was driven nearly to distraction but remained with the son because otherwise he would have found the home tasks put upon him unbearable. The one child was petted and spoiled by the mother. Everything he did was right; the actions of the mother-in-law and husband, always wrong. The patient spent most of her time reading novels. Her one topic of conversation was her illness, especially her sufferings in the past, her father and her more fortunate earlier circumstances. Although selfish to a degree that the most casual visitor would quickly recognize, the psychopathic wife covered her egoism by posing as a martyr, the victim of what she clearly intimated was an unfortunate marriage. It was pathetic to realize the misfortune of the husband, tied hand and foot by the selfishness of his pathological "helpmate," but unwilling, on account of his affection for his child and his native sense of obligation, to consider the possibility of freeing himself by divorce.

Self-assertion never shows itself more intensely than when through nervous illness the egoistic cravings ride rough shod over all social and moral considerations, and the person becomes the personification of selfishness. The psychopath has no sense of social give-and-take. His one devouring urge is to satisfy an insatiable appetite for power or distinction or attention. The psychiatric social worker

ministers to families afflicted by psychopathic selfishness in one of their members, by giving attention to other members of the household. To them she gives some understanding of the true situation, showing them the futility of attempting to satisfy an egoism that has passed beyond the limits of normality.

Topics for Discussion

1. How may self-assertion show itself in mob-spirit?
2. What part has self-assertion in the secret organizations of American colleges?
3. Why have such organizations flourished in America and not in Europe?
4. Why does the negro make so much of fraternal organizations?
5. How do industrial strikes provide emotional satisfaction for the workers?
6. How has labor organization led to self-esteem among workers?
7. How may the influence of inferiority complex show itself in revolutions?
8. What are the social motives of the "parlor-revolutionists"?
9. Are college professors more radical than other professional people? If so, why?
10. What are the characteristics of the selfishness of neurotics?

Topics for Reports

1. Analysis of the leadership of American mobs.
2. The history and social significance of Greek letter societies.
3. Negro fraternal societies.
4. Analysis of cases of school bullying.
5. Analysis of self-assertion in cases of industrial conflicts.
6. Industrial democracy as a preventive of industrial conflicts.
7. The neurotic revolutionist.
8. Influence of inferiority complex in revolution.

9. The egoism of the neurotic.
10. The neurotic trouble-maker at school.
11. The neurotic school critic.

Supplementary Readings

Case, C. M., *Instinctive and Cultural Factors in Group Conflicts,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 28, pp. 1-20, July, 1922.

Clow, F. R., *Principles of Sociology with Educational Applications, ch. 8,* Macmillan, New York, 1920.

Dowd, J., *Industrial Democracy,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 26, pp. 581-87, March, 1921.

Freeman, R. A., *Social Decay and Regeneration, chs. 11, 13,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1921.

Ginsberg, M., *The Psychology of Society, ch. 9,* E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1921.

Groves, E. R., *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare, ch. 5,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922.

Kolnai, A., *Psychoanalysis and Sociology,* Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1922.

McDougall, W., *The Group Mind, ch. 2,* Putnam's, New York, 1920.

Morgan, J. J. B., *Why Men Strike,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 26, pp. 207-11, Sept., 1920.

Rice, S. A., *Motives in Radicalism and Social Reform,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 28, pp. 577-85, March, 1923.

Sidis, B., *Nervous Ills, their Cause and Cure, ch. 15,* Badger, Boston, 1922.

Tead, O., *Instincts in Industry, ch. 5,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1918.

Wallas, G., *The Great Society, ch. 8,* Macmillan, New York, 1914.

Williams, J. M., *Principles of Social Psychology, Book 2,* Knopf, New York, 1922.

Yarros, V. S., *The Coming Industrial Democracy,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 24, pp. 672-80, May, 1919.

Yarros, V. S., *Isolation and Social Conflicts,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 27, pp. 211-21, Sept., 1921.

CHAPTER XII

Self-assertion and Family Life

Many men and women after having become parents lose to a large extent their former self-assertion with reference to their own personal interests, and express it in a new way in the family life, especially in regard to matters that concern the children. What we see so clearly in these extreme cases is characteristic to some degree of every one who develops a normal family attitude. The self-assertive tendencies make use of the family as a means of elevating the self, even though the egoistic trend may be concealed from himself by the individual. The father prefers to believe that he wishes to give his children a better opportunity than he had himself or that he is making possible for wife or children the realization of their own desires. The mother may think she is sacrificing for her children, when as a matter of fact she is carrying out her own purposes and is expressing her self-assertive ambitions through her children. However it may seem to the person concerned, the on-looker appreciates the fact that self-assertion is showing itself in the family life and often is creating social problems no less serious because they are colored by devotion and affection.

This turning of personal self-assertion into home channels is of course the natural consequence of the family institution and represents a step in the socialization of the instinct. Nevertheless, as thoughtful people have always recognized, family self-assertion easily may become an obstacle to social progress and community welfare. A few have felt that this concentration of self in the family

unit was such a drag upon social advancement that there should be a great modification and limitation of family privacy. In order to socialize human nature, some of these thinkers have even been willing to sacrifice the present form of the family itself.

One of the obvious and common forms of self-assertion in family life is the desire to create property as a means of family protection and advancement. This explains the fact that those who would destroy the rights of private property often desire to change the present home considerably. They feel that so long as the institution of the family remains in its present form, in spite of any legislation or attempted control by public opinion, self-assertion would make use of the family and would encourage the continuation of private property. Plato, a representative of this group of thinkers, expresses himself as follows.

"Both the community of property and the community of families, as I am saying, tend to make them more truly guardians; they will not tear the city in pieces by differing about 'mine' and 'not mine'; each man dragging any acquisition which he has made into a separate house of his own, where he has a separate wife and children and private pleasures and pains; but all will be affected as far as may be by the same pleasures and pains because they are all of one opinion about what is near and dear to them, and therefore they all tend toward a common end. . . . . And as they have nothing but their persons which they can call their own, suits and complaints will have no existence among them; they will be delivered from all those quarrels of which money or children or relations are the occasion."(1)

Certainly one of the common forms of self-assertion is the desire of ambitious persons to create property for their

(1) Plato, The Republic, p. 156, Jowett, B., tr., Colonial Press.

family and to transmit it to their children. A great deal of the maliciousness of social life—unreasonable competition, unwholesome ambition along financial lines—is not due to any desire on the part of the individual to create property for himself, but rather to his anxiety to create wealth for his wife and children. This is particularly true when he himself in his early years has suffered from poverty and thinks of his boyhood experience with such exaggeration of his misfortune that he comes to believe that the greatest possible good he can bring his children is protection from poverty. One would suppose that such a man would be satisfied with his own personal success, that he would express his self-assertion in personal achievement. Many times this is the case, but there are those who take little satisfaction in what they create for themselves or in the power they maintain for themselves. Their distinction or power must be tied to the family unit or it seems lacking in primary and complete satisfaction. Such individuals transfer personal ambition to the more stimulating family form, and picture their children as starting where they themselves end. Unfortunately they are often wrong in their expectations and their very success proves the undoing of their children's welfare.

An unusual illustration of this occurred in a very wealthy suburban district, near New York City. Several forms of vice were intrenched in the high school life. The young boys were said to be gambling with large sums of money frequently, and both boys and girls were engaging in vice. This social problem seemed to be due entirely to the wealth that had been given the children by their parents from early years until the boys and girls became surfeited, and lost all sense of adventure in normal ways. They had been satiated in all the normal forms of self-expression because they had never had any of the struggle

that is characteristic of wholesome childhood, and their irresistible desire for adventure was turned into anti-social and vicious behavior. Surely, the greatest curse these children had—the one that was undoing them and making their happiness impossible—was the thoughtless bestowal of wealth upon them by their parents. This probably to a large extent represented the parents' desire to give to the children advantages that they themselves had not had.

On a smaller scale, expressed in different conditions, one sees the same mistaken treatment of children in country towns and villages. Parents go without necessities to provide what is really luxury for their children. Occasionally one comes upon the strange twist in the family ambition that leads parents to live on the poverty-level, at the same time accumulating, by their penurious policy, a considerable fortune for their children. As a rule when the children finally inherit what their parents have slowly saved, the sudden change in their circumstances leads to nothing but harm for the children. It is a striking illustration of self-assertion expressed in family ambition.

Self-assertion also expresses itself in family experience when it begins to show itself in the desire to expend money and create in the family an atmosphere of luxury. This form of self-assertion shows itself in all classes of society. Its force, however, is most clearly revealed when it leads the very poor to seek social distinction by purchases that have little or no utility, secured perhaps by installments, but which bring to the family as a whole a sense of esteem. Thus we find the poor negro home of the South with its organ[1] that no one in the family can play, because the having of it in itself seems to lead to distinction, and if one family has such a luxury another family imitates it.

(1) Odum, H. W., Social and Mental Traits of the Negro, p. 154.

Sometimes in very poor families one child, usually a girl, is chosen for a concentration of family pride. She is dressed differently from the others, far beyond the ability of the family, and naturally by the process becomes self-conscious and spoiled. It is felt by all the other members of the family that the child is representative of the family as a whole and brings to it a sense of distinction. This elevates the self-esteem of each individual.

Another expression of family self-assertion is found in the almost universal desire to lift the family by association with superiors. It is especially found in "society" in the narrow sense, and the "climber" is familiar to everyone. The same egoistic family-striving is found in the small village even when life as a whole is extremely democratic, and everyone knows everyone else. Families come to occupy definite positions of standing in the social scale and much rivalry follows, some trying to obtain by association a higher standing, and others seeking to maintain their superiority. In some village societies the lines are drawn so rigidly that a stranger is constantly in trouble because he violates certain relationships that have become well established, and perhaps treats representatives of different families in such a way as to make some of them feel that their distinction has been ignored and their esteem injured. The country minister has to be careful until he has learned these subtle social gradations. This is what is often meant by "learning the ropes." It requires skill and tact to serve the people as a whole without alienating the "best families."

Another form of self-assertion showing itself in family life is the desire that the family often has to obtain prestige through the education of its children. This is where the middle class oftentimes shows its craving for distinction. The sons and daughters can not compete with the wealthy

in activities that depend on money. They have no way of being distinguished except by going to college and in the college getting honors that the others, although more fortunate socially, can not get. Every college instructor of experience knows the difference between teaching students who expect to bring to their people distinction by means of scholarship and those who come from homes so secure financially that they can not regard college standing as anything of serious import.

A few years ago a very wealthy, successful lawyer, who had worked himself up from nothing and had become distinguished as a leading member of the New York city bar, sent his elder son to a leading university. The boy's career induced him to seek a very different environment for his second son, whom he therefore sent to a rather isolated college which he supposed to be free from the temptations of a city community. This younger son was an unusually pleasing person, a splendid fellow in every sense of the word, with a good brain and the capacity for distinguished scholarship. The father asked several members of the college faculty to help his son as far as possible. They found it very difficult to report from time to time to the father that the boy was doing well enough to justify his staying in college. The father was dissatisfied with the son's career and most exacting in his demands from his faculty friends for help in his problem. It finally became necessary to tell him frankly: "You want your boy to have as much ambition and as much sense of struggle as you had, when you started with nothing and made a great career for yourself; and he starts with everything and has nothing to work for. It is unreasonable to expect any boy to respond with ambition to such circumstances." The father, doubtless, had already discovered the situation but hardly knew what to do.

There are four kinds of children that are particularly in danger of exploitation because of the self-assertive cravings of parents: the wealthy child, the only child, the sick child and the favorite child.

It is difficult to bring up an only child in a normal manner. The danger of spoiling such a child is very great; perhaps we must give credit to the wholesome correctives of childhood society for the fact that so many only children are not injured by their handicap. It is a tribute to the self-control and good sense of the parent who succeeds in making of his only child an unselfish, modest and self-reliant individual, when the temptations to hurt the child are so many and so subtle.

Here is a case of an only child in constant trouble with teachers. According to his mental testing he should be ranked as having a superior mind; in school attainment he was, however, a considerable failure, ranking below associates of his own age. The mother's life centered in her only child. She could not speak his name without accents that were so apparent in their intensity that they were necessarily harmful for the child to hear. It was no wonder that the child felt the need of divorcing himself from his parents. The mother had to be told, "You are the most dangerous person that your son comes in contact with. If the child's life is wrecked you are the one who will have to take the blame for it, because you are not giving him a reasonable amount of self-expression." "Well," she said, "that is perhaps true, but you can not understand how much he means to me." She soon saw that this made it all the more necessary for her to hide from the son her feeling, to some extent, and to let him drift out of the home more and more in order to give him a fair chance. In such circumstances the parents must exercise unusual self-control lest they handicap the child.

Then there is the sickly child. Whether really sickly or only supposedly so, he runs grave risks because the family is likely to adjust itself to his needs to so large an extent. Both affection and family ambition impel the parents to treat the weak child with special attention. Sometimes doctors cater to the over-anxious interests of the parents and magnify the difficulty of the child far beyond its true significance. This child grows up with the habitual thought that he is not like other people and therefore should have special privileges, which he takes. Within the family no more intense form of self-assertion can be developed than that resulting from the excessive attention given a sickly child. All the members of the family cater to that child's welfare. The younger child, especially, loves that. It gives him power. He is the first consideration in all the doings of the family. He has more choice and more privileges than any of the others. In all sorts of ways other people have to minister to what is his self-assertion. He grows up, the psychiatrists tell us, often neurotic, not so much because he is sick as because he has been pampered. He finds it difficult later in his mature social experience to play the game of life unless he is catered to and treated with undue consideration.

There is also the favorite child. Just why there should be a favorite child seems hard to tell, but we have such individuals. The famous story of Joseph illustrates the favoritism shown children, especially when everybody recognizes that there are to be no more. A student who has now become a very sensible man was during his childhood a trial for his parents. For a long time it did not seem as though he could recover. He was the last child born in a family of five or six. It was clear that there could be no more children, and his father and mother took an attitude toward him entirely different from their atti-

tude toward the others. From the beginning everything he did was right. He had no need of doing the work the others were supposed to do. The family was very exacting with reference to the older children. Finally the boy went to college. At college he was a trial to all instructors; among his fellows he was very unpopular. Although a student of ability he was too self-opinionated to do himself justice. No man in the class was treated by his classmates with such hostility. His intense self-assertion became a very great burden, fulfilling the prophecy of those who had witnessed the indulgent treatment given him by both parents from his birth. His sisters and brothers and neighbors had protested in vain against the favoritism shown him. His life career has been blighted by the intense egotism that was certainly in his case produced in the home.

We have in the family-life difficulties between the members of the family due to the self-assertion that every individual expresses in the family life. It comes about not because an individual is selfish and seeks to exploit another member of the family, but because his self-expression collides with that of another. A parent, for example, may dictate to the children because in that way he has an opportunity to express his own self-assertion. He has perhaps great ambition for the child. The child does not want what his parent desires for him. The parent in that case may not be selfish, at least in the ordinary sense. He will sacrifice for the child, and judging from the outside you might say that he was particularly unselfish; but because there is a difference of attitude or a difference of judgment, or sympathy, or purpose, or temperament between parent and child there comes about a struggle within the family life, and the different members of the family are likely to be seriously divided under such circumstances. In all sorts of ways there is opportunity for self-assertive clashes not

only between parent and child but even more between brothers and sisters. The danger of such family disputes and divisions is universally recognized. To the social psychologists they are not, however, merely unfortunate disturbances that mar family harmony, but positive expressions of self-assertion that must seek some outlet for individual aggression and must receive adjustment and socialization. It is when the expression of egoistic desires by the various members of the family remains excessive and is not subordinated to the welfare of the family as a whole that a serious discord arises and conditions are brought about that prevent the wholesome functioning of the home.

We must not think of family life as merely a static experience, by means of which the largest temporary happiness for its members results. Home is not a sort of refuge place where everybody goes to be comfortable, but it is an educational institution where people are trained for life; and the home that offers free expression to its different members, as far as that is possible, is the family where there is the best condition for social development even when it leads to some clashing of personal desires. The despotic family, where one person rules, is a family where there may not be discord but that is because there is no normal family life at all. It is a dominance which does not train the members of the family for life in a wholesome manner. Therefore, a good family life will always have need for adjustment. No one individual will have the right of way over the others. There will be discussion; there will be disputes at times, and to a small extent quarrels. In a normal family as ages change there has to be constant adjustment because of this. If you could make a reasonable program for family behavior when one child was twelve, another eight, a third sixteen, and

a fourth eighteen, three or four years later there would be need of another radical adjustment.

With the coming of the child to the adolescent age, new and unreasonable self-assertion is to be expected. Before this he may have been peacefully subservient; now he declares for a share of independence and resents authority, especially from brothers or sisters. Parents whose attitude has been one of repression must certainly modify their policy now. The parent also must always adjust discipline and freedom of decision to the actual possibilities of self-control as they demonstrate themselves from time to time. The family that is socially most efficient is the kind that requires adjustment of the conflicting expressions of self-assertion constantly. The static family established on a definite but necessarily narrow policy and continuing its program just as long as it holds together is the worst possible home for the social training of the individual members, though it may be as peaceful a family as can be imagined.

The social test of the family is its ability to produce wholesome, social individuals. It is not organized primarily for personal happiness. Its biological function centers about the offspring. Its sociological significance lies chiefly in its training of children. The home, therefore, naturally illustrates all the struggles that accompany growth. Its normal functioning produces occasional disturbances that are the "growing pains" of the process of maturing and socializing the members of the family. The family to be socially wholesome must prepare for the social autonomy of its individuals. Therefore, too much family may be as risky as too little and too much affection centered upon the home as dangerous as too little.

The home must necessarily fail in its social service unless the earlier object-love of the children is loosened and trans-

ferred as they mature. As the child is led away from a too strong fixation of affection upon one or both parents, changes in the habits of the household necessarily follow. The wise parent encourages opportunities that permit the child to form new, out-of-the-home associations. The unwise parent will attempt to block such new relationships and thus keep the child in filial bondage. As the child develops new emotional attachments, the parent is required also to make corresponding changes in his own emotional attitudes. He also must avoid an exclusive love-fixation upon the child, or by the intensity of his emotional expressions he will encourage the child to continue his former concentration.

Of course this program is very different from that which in the past has to many appeared the ideal expression of parental love. There can be no doubt, however, that recent psychological science is right in insisting that gradually the child has to be released from the close ties of home affection, natural and wholesome during his first years, if the home is to do its duty in helping him develop his personality. Otherwise the home becomes a deforming influence. What often on the surface is considered unusual unselfishness and sacrifice on the part of the parent is actually intense and ruinous egoism. The test of the home in the end has to be social efficiency.

The son or daughter who continues after adolescence the intense attachment to mother or father characteristic of early childhood is extending a relationship beyond its biological sanction. This brings great risk that the youth will fail to meet his proper social obligations. He is likely to prove an unsuccessful husband or an indifferent citizen. As he grows older and more and more illustrates his inability to act with the maturity of his years, the unfortunate type of his affection will become increasingly clear

and is likely to draw expressions of pity or ridicule from his associates. The child, unfortunately, rather than the parent, must shoulder the consequences of the latter's selfishness.

As the child grows away from his childhood, the parent must needs insure himself against the emotional void that is likely to appear if he has cultivated only those interests that center about the offspring. He must to a degree wean himself from his own emotional fixation or suffer a deep sense of privation. From the beginning, therefore, the wholesome home will consider its outside social relationships and will make provision for the maintenance of contacts with community life. Narrow family self-assertion will be avoided by stress upon the social purpose of the home.

Topics for Discussion

1. How may parenthood change the expression of self-assertion?
2. How can egoism in family life menace social welfare?
3. How does family ambition show itself in modern life?
4. Are there differences in the form of family ambition in the rural and urban environment?
5. How can we distinguish between desires for luxury and desires for higher standards of living?
6. To what extent is education used as a form of family ambition?
7. What are the social risks of the only child?
8. Analysis of troublesome only-child cases in school.
9. What are the social risks of the wealthy child?
10. Does the private school add to the social risks of the wealthy child?
11. What is the obligation of the schools to the sickly child?
12. Is conflict necessary in family life?
13. What are the tests of family wholesomeness?
14. How can parents prepare themselves for the emotional void caused by the growing-up of their children?

Topics for Reports

1. Mother-love in human evolution.
2. The history of property rights.
3. The social significance of property inheritance.
4. Plato's family program in "The Republic."
5. Rural family rivalry.
6. The influence of family pride and family ambition in school life.
7. Popular education and the social recognition of manual labor.
8. The pathological only child and the school.
9. The school program and the sickly child.
10. Teachers' favorites.
11. Influence of family quarrels upon school work.
12. Private schools and democratic education.

Supplementary Readings

Bosanquet, H., *The Family, ch. 10,* Macmillan, New York, 1923.

Breckenridge, S. P. and Abbott, E., *The Delinquent Child and the Home, ch. 10,* Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1912.

Brill, A. A., *Psychanalysis, Its Theories and Practical Application, ch. 10,* W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia, 1913.

Brown, H. W., *The Deforming Influences of the Home,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 12, pp. 49-58, April, 1917.

Flügel, J. C., *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family, chs. 2-6,* International Psycho-Analytical Press, New York, 1921.

Hoffman, C. W., *Social Aspects of the Family Court,* Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, Vol. 10, pp. 409-23, Nov., 1919.

McDougall, W., *An Introduction to Social Psychology, ch. 10,* Luce & Co., Boston, 1918.

Miller, H. C., *The New Psychology and the Teacher, pp. 213-25,* Thomas Seltzer, New York, 1922.

Munroe, J. P., *The Human Factor in Education, pp. 80-103,* Macmillan, New York, 1920.

Taylor, M., *The Child and the Home,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 6, pp. 746-72, Oct., 1922.

Tead, O., *Instincts in Industry, ch. 5,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1918.

Williams, J. M., *Principles of Social Psychology, ch. 20,* Knopf, New York, 1922.

CHAPTER XIII

The Emotional Maturing of the Boy

The child cannot thrive without love. Unless he receives an expression of affection from parent or guardian in his early years he suffers an emotional privation that is bound to influence not only his childhood but also his entire adult career. Unless he experiences affection a void in his life is created which subsequent events cannot fully remove. His welfare therefore depends upon his having contact with love from the beginning. He has great need of love. He responds naturally to the affection bestowed upon him and it is one of the most potent of all the influences that awaken his psychic and social life. The child is led into altruistic attitudes and conduct as a result of his responses to the love of his parents. His attention, formerly exclusively concerned with the gratification of his own desires, is turned first toward his mother and then toward his father; and thus begin his altruistic sentiments which must largely decide the quality of his social behavior in his adult period. The success of society's later effort to socialize him through the processes of intellectual and moral instruction will be determined by the extent that he has entered into altruistic behavior as a result of his affection for his parents.

It is also true that this childhood affection is bound to show in all subsequent experiences of love. The way in which the child expresses infantile love, the responses called forth by the parents, will largely color all later manifestations of affection. The child's adult behavior will tend to rehearse his early happenings which will hamper or minis-

ter to wholesome attitudes of affection. It is the teaching of Freud and his followers that these first experiences of love between parents and child, when they are unwholesomely expressed, become the cause of later disturbances in the emotional life of the adult and frequently bring about the development of a neurosis.

The response of the child to love changes as he develops. If he is to have a complete, normal emotional growth it is necessary that these changes take place. He can no more remain stationary in his affection and have normal growth than he can become fixed in physical or mental development without suffering retardation. The affection-response that is out of season because of its emotional immaturity becomes, therefore, a harmful influence bound to injure his conduct and restrict his happiness.

Affection involves a social situation. Love is an expression of give-and-take. The child enters into social experience through his love-life and learns the meaning of relationship as a result of his attention upon the people who furnish to him evidences of affection. Instinct provides the basis of this inter-relationship but instinct, untrained and unrestrained, is not sufficient guide for the parent in his task of helping the child to pass safely through the various phases of love. The instincts of the child also are sensitive to the conditions furnished by the environment and are too easily modified to be adequate for the guidance of the child's affectionate development.

Not only are parents unwise,as is generally recognized, in their affection; but parenthood itself has inherent elements that are obstacles to the child's wholesome progress. Parenthood is better prepared to furnish the much needed love for the infantile period than it is to accept the subsequent task of helping the child graduate from his infantile period and arrive at the emotional level where he will less

value and less need the affection of the parents. The parents' love is a social product which exhibits the combined results of instinct, biological selection working over a long period of time and tending to preserve through inheritance those family strains that furnish strong parental instincts, tradition and the early experiences of the individual himself. The affection of the parent therefore is constructed by social influences upon an instinctive basis and has the strength of the original animal instinct without its periodicity. By the process of the weakening of the parents' instincts as the creature matures, the offspring of the lower animal is in time set free. The human parent on the other hand covets emotionally the continuance of the early experience when his affection exclusively ministered to the child; and, contrary often to his conscious purposes, he obstructs the emotional maturing of his child.

The influence of the parent over the child is of course during early childhood greater than that of any other person, and it is not difficult for the parent to operate upon the child in such a way as to make the transition through the various phases of affection arduous or even impossible. The child is enmeshed in an unseasonable love and suffers as a consequence because of his failure to mature.

The child does not react the same to both his parents. Very early, much earlier than common thought in the past has been wont to suppose, the child distinguishes between the mother and father in such a way that his behavior is slightly modified because of his recognition that they are in some sense different and demand from him different treatment. The mother naturally means the more to the child and the responses given her are more laden with affection. In these elemental reactions the child begins to distinguish in his affection the existence of the two sexes and to govern his conduct slightly in harmony with his

differing attitude toward them. Thus he is led to the discovery of the essential differences between father and mother, and at the same time he expresses himself in his affection in harmony with this difference of sex. In this manner there creeps into his conduct a difference of response that is built fundamentally upon the recognition of sex difference.

Boy

Heterosexual affection

Mother 8			Life mate
Father 12		Schoolmates 18	

Homosexual affection

The diagram printed above is an attempt to chart the development of affection in the life history of the normal boy. The age divisions are merely suggestive since there is necessarily considerable variation in the rate of maturity. When the affection is primarly felt for members of the opposite sex it is placed above the line; for members of the same sex it appears below the line.

The boy's development is more simple and less liable to abnormality than is the girl's. He starts with a heterosexual affection as a result of his contact with his mother. She on her part due to her own heterosexual tendencies is likely to extend to him greater demonstration of affection than she bestows upon children of her own sex. This expression of her love is likely to awaken in the child reciprocal feelings and he naturally looks to his mother rather than to his father for satisfaction of his desire for attention. It is possible also that the boy is instinctively led toward a heterosexual relationship.

During this first period of his life, about eight years, the boy clings closely to his mother and from her gets his largest satisfactions and upon her bestows the greater affection. Toward the close of this period, however, he is led from his mother and toward his father. He is pushed forward into the new attitude by his instincts and his social contacts. His instinctive life is awakening to new activities and demanding of him more out-of-the-home experiences. He is interested in enterprises that are primarily masculine in type. The world of things catches his fancy and he begins to appreciate the kind of life represented by his father and his sex. He plays more and more with boys rather than with girls and boys. These boys like himself are also turning from the infantile mother-attitude to the stage of father-emulation. Normally there begins a hero-attitude toward the father. It is now that the father's comradeship will mean most to the boy. The undiscerning father throws away his greatest opportunity to influence the boy, usually because of lack of understanding rather than utter selfishness. This is the time that the boy talks of his desire to be like his "Daddy," that he imitates his father and gives his interest to those things that concern his father.

Again by the normal ripening of his instincts the boy transfers his attention somewhat from his home and parents and increases his interest in his playmates. These will be for the most part boys. His curiosity, pugnacity, self-assertion and other motivating drives bring him more and more in association with playmates. School and especially games occupy the center of his interest. He no longer is so dependent upon his mother. He cares much less about his father's interests but finds instead his supreme social gratification in winning the approval of his mates. Now, as by common impulse, boys join gangs and clubs.

Girls and girl interests are largely taboo. Sisters are looked upon as inferiors and frequently are regarded as troubles. Parental standards are in varying measure discounted. There is, however, the greatest sensitiveness to the attitude of members of the gang.

Then comes the fiery ordeal of adolescence. The girls, once taboo or ignored, now become the one compelling topic of conversation, the most persistent focus of attention. The boy crosses over from his long homosexual associations assisted by the outburst of the new instinctive attitudes of adolescence. Now he is prepared to concentrate his affection on some member of the opposite sex; and teachers and parents do their utmost to keep him from a premature fixation of affection in order that before beginning family responsibilities he may complete the education which he needs for his adult career.

In the course of its various phases from mother-love to marriage, this development of the affections runs risk of a miscarriage of emotional well-being. It is the business of wholesome training for life to guide the developing personality safely through these dangers. It is imperative that the parent and teacher realize clearly the different pitfalls that the boy must pass in the changing forms of his affection. Even if the child cannot absolutely avoid all difficulties in the course of his psychic growth, those who deal with him can greatly assist him to escape serious emotional harm by recognizing the points where he has failed in his reactions. Indeed, if he has made any considerable departure at any point from the normal line of progress it will be of great value to him in his adult period if he, himself, can recognize his variations and discover their influence upon his conduct. Bringing the knowledge of these variations clearly into consciousness and explaining their meaning is one of the methods by which the psy-

chiatrist assists those who are having special difficulty in meeting their social responsibilities.

The most outstanding danger that the boy meets in his development of affection is the risk of permanently fixing his love upon his mother in such a way as to make it impossible for him to go through the succeeding experiences. The possibility of this happening has long and universally been recognized. For example savage initiation rites, as practiced among the Australians, attempt to sever the relationship of mother and boy and in case the boy fails to pass successfully through the ordeal his association with the women folks is held responsible and ever afterward he is considered as belonging with the women of the tribe rather than with the men.

There are many different ways by which the child may be hindered in his efforts to pass out of the dominant mother-fixation of the first period. His mother may continue year after year to treat him with the same lavishness of affection as was his right as an infant. She may use her hold upon him to make him prejudiced against any new competing interest. She may prolong his early helplessness until his dependence upon her becomes so habitual that it continues even up into his adult period. She may demand of him such show of affection that she becomes all-satisfying and he feels no need of any other. Teachers of boys occasionally find young men of high school age receiving from their mother infantile attention and affection and responding in such a way as to make their emotional maturing impossible.

The mother may hamper the child especially when he starts to transfer his regard from her to his father. This may be a conscious process or one of which the mother is unaware. In either case the father is discounted and his value for the child concealed. This attitude of the mother

may have for its motive deep selfishness or lack of confidence in the father. It may of course be both. In that case she uses the apparent failures of the father to protect herself from the withdrawal of the boy's supreme regard. The loss of the father through death or desertion may make the task of the mother doubly hard and necessarily prevent any reasonable opportunity for the boy to transfer from his mother to a member of his own sex.

Attention has been called[1] to the danger the teacher runs in putting great stress upon the boy's loyalty to his mother as a motive for school work. To some boys, especially if they are lacking in masculine aggressiveness, this motive is very powerful and the temptation of the teacher to make use of it is correspondingly great. Appealing to this motive is likely to increase the difficulty eventually for it keeps the boy looking to the past rather than to the future. The proper motive for the boy in the 'teens is one that puts emphasis upon social loyalty and self-expression. By preparing to meet his future responsibilities the boy best honors his mother and most fortunately satisfies her desire for appreciation. Appeal should be made to the virility of the boy. If he is to continue to belong merely to the mother and to draw vitality for conduct only from his desire to please his mother there is little hope of his arriving at manhood's estate.

The difficulty is clear and simple. He remains emotionally infantile and therefore cannot pass on through the succeeding stages of growth which are to prepare him to act a man's part in the world. Marriage will at least prove difficult. If he marries at all he is likely to be too much influenced by his mother and to demand from his life mate rather more of a mother than a wife. He will

(1) Miller, H. C., The New Psychology and the Teacher, pp. 85-86.

react adversely to his wife unless she treats him with the tender consideration of the mother. He will demand excessive attention, a magnifying of his virtues and an ignoring of his faults or he will remove himself further and further emotionally from the wife and make a happy marriage impossible. While the mother lives he is unlikely to marry at all. If he does, her wishes in the matter will greatly influence his choice. From beginning to end his marriage is likely to be abnormal and most unsatisfactory to all concerned.

It must not be forgotten that the father may hamper the boy's first transference of affection. He may be so domineering, so fear-causing, so indifferent or so openly a social derelict that the boy cannot respect him, much less worship him. In such a case the boy may return to his more secure infantile mother-fixation or he may prematurely set his affection upon his boy comrades. Psychopathic cases clearly disclose the persistence into adult behavior of the importance of such failures on the part of the father. Especially does this appear when the father badly treats the boy and instills in him deep-seated fears.

By mere neglect, very busy, ambitious fathers are apt to deprive their sons of a part of the advantage successful men may be to their offspring. Finding little time for association with their children, such men emotionally neglect them. Sons, in order to transfer their affection with least inner disturbance, need not only a father whom they can admire but also one whom they can learn to know. There is no substitute for such comradeship of father and son and no parent's obligation is satisfied by merely providing material resources for the son.

It devolves upon teacher, mother and father, especially the latter, to give the boy a winsome idea of the

new level of growth toward which he moves. Life can not be pictured too exacting, too rigid, too serious without making it harder for the boy to take the next step with confidence. If growing up becomes at any point too painful a process or promises to become too painful, the child will naturally recoil and do his utmost to preserve the existing status, even in some cases to retreat to an earlier and easier period. A great measure of unnecessary suffering and failure in life originates in this reluctance of the child to go on in the progress of growth because he has come to feel its difficulty and cannot sense its advantage. Such emotional retardation sooner or later shows itself in school work; and unless the individual finds a source of courage, the evil consequences of the experience continue to show themselves throughout life.

The boy generally passes easily from the idealization of the father to the period of gang loyalty. Gradually he recognizes that the father is unable to satisfy all his needs; increasingly he enjoys the fellowship and approval of the boys of his own age. His greatest danger during this period of comradeship is the fact that he may get into social difficulty from his subservience to the gang. The influence of his boy associates may be positively anti-social. If so, he may be led into some escapade that will bring him before the court and into social disgrace. The shame, the treatment given him by his home, his school, his community may be such that he develops a chronic and aggressive anti-social attitude. This is one of the ways in which society makes its criminals. By getting insight into the situation and, by administering counsel rather than punishment, to prevent temporary and trivial doings from becoming a persistent source of wrong conduct is the task of the juvenile court; and its social service in keeping boys from starting criminal careers is of inestimable value.

The impulses that begin to express themselves in new ways and with novel powers in adolescence assist the boy to make his final transference. If his course previously has been well-directed the boy is not in great risk in his final maturing experience. He courts, marries and becomes a parent. There is of course the possibility that his affection may settle upon some young woman who will gradually disclose herself as too selfish or too false or too shallow to deserve his respect. His shock may harden him so that from that time on he will not feel attraction toward the opposite sex. Most men, however, with a history of average success in meeting the emotional transferences of the earlier periods will not permanently react to such an experience of disillusionment with bitterness or hostility to women. Usually the affection is finally transferred to a more satisfying representative of womanhood and the earlier mistake happily is forgotten.

Recently I was consulted with reference to the following family situation. A young man who for many years had lived with his mother, and had been his mother's favorite child, was obliged by his employment to be away from home for several months, became engaged and later married. From the beginning his marriage was unhappy. Indeed by a process of attempting to delay it from time to time he revealed his real reluctance to assume his new responsibilities. Had the young woman in the case not been persistent, without doubt he would have gladly broken the engagement. Hardly had the ceremony been completed when the mother's influence began to be felt adversely in the new family. The husband constantly compared the wife and mother to the disadvantage of the former. He complained of every variation of the wife from the routine of the mother and quickly made clear to his mother that he was dissatisfied. She took his part as she had done

in all the difficulties of his life during childhood and up to the time of his marriage. This naturally increased still more the tension of the new family. Eventually after a very serious quarrel the young wife frankly told her husband that it seemed to her that he was the spoiled boy of his mother, who had never grown up. To this he reacted violently and determined upon divorce. He came to me for consultation and after a long, tedious process of self-revelation he was able to recognize the truth of his wife's statement. The mother also was made to realize her share of responsibility for the family breakdown. The divorce was prevented and gradually the home became reasonably happy through mutual understanding. The young husband's subsequent business career, however, clearly revealed the unfortunate consequences of an excessive mother-fixation.

Topics for Discussion

1. How does the child show his need of affection?
2. How does childhood experience influence adult expression of affection?
3. What does Freud teach regarding childhood love?
4. How can parents obstruct the child's development of a normal emotional life?
5. How does the father influence the boy's emotional development? The mother?
6. Can the school correct a child's infantile emotional arrest?
7. What educational problems originate in the emotional behavior of the adolescent boy?
8. What can the schools do to prepare youth for successful marriage?
9. How does the gang spirit show itself in school life?
10. Can the schools utilize the gang tendency of adolescent boys?
11. How does the gang develop anti-social attitudes?

Topics for Reports

1. The love-response of the baby.
2. Parenthood affection among savages.
3. Fiske's theory of infancy.
4. School problems due to mother- or father-fixation.
5. Freud's teaching regarding the libido.
6. Advantages and disadvantages of adolescent co-education; of college co-education.
7. Influence upon children of the death of a parent.
8. Studies of boy gangs.
9. Educative value of children's clubs.
10. Education for parents.

Supplementary Readings

Bosanquet, H., *The Family, ch. 13,* Macmillan, New York, 1923.

Flügel, J. C., *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family, chs. 14-16,* International Psycho-Analytical Press, New York, 1921.

Green, G. H., *Psychoanalysis in the Classroom, ch. 12,* Putnam's New York, 1922.

Kempf, E. J., *Psychopathology, ch. 2,* C. V. Mosby Co., St. Louis, 1920.

Kuttner, A. B., *Sons and Lovers,* Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 3, pp. 295-317, July, 1916.

Miller, H. C., *The New Psychology and the Teacher, ch. 4,* Thomas Seltzer, New York, 1922.

Southard, E. E. and Jarrett, M. C., *The Kingdom of Evils, Book 2, Case 16, pp. 107-9, and Case 18, pp. 113-15,* Macmillan, New York, 1922.

Spencer, A. G., *The Family and its Members, ch. 8,* Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1923.

White, W. A., *Mechanisms of Character Formation, ch. 7,* Macmillan, New York, 1916.

White, W. A., *The Mental Hygiene of Childhood, chs. 5, 9,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1919.

CHAPTER XIV

The Emotional Maturing of the Girl

Girl

Heterosexual affection

Father 10	Father 18	Mate
Mother 6	Schoolmates 15	

Homosexual affection

The development of the girl's affection is not so simple as that of the boy's. It also has greater opportunities for emotional disturbances. The girl begins, as does the boy, with a fixation upon the mother. But this in the case of the girl is a homosexual experience and thus at the very start of the evolution of affection of the girl there is satisfaction in a relationship which does not require cognizance of sex differences. It is easier therefore for the girl to continue the expression of affection upon members of her own sex straight through childhood into the adult period. Even if the boy has only the dimmest of ideas of the differences between his mother and himself he nevertheless has some slight understanding that he belongs to the class to which his father belongs and not to that of his mother.

It is fortunate that most girls, as if by instinct, tend as they pass the first years of the infantile period to turn their affection to their fathers.[1] Doubtless the maternal

(1) Flügel, J. C., The Psychoanalytic Study of the Family, p. 16.

urge, which, given opportunity, appears very early in the girl, is at least partly the cause of this transference. The idea of maternity after the year of six is bound to involve some recognition of the significance of the father and a turning of attention to him. If, as appears true from experience, this new interest in the father is met by him by a deeper response than the boy receives from the father, there is an additional reason for the girl's affection moving somewhat away from the mother and closer to the father. To some extent also the greater freedom of the father attracts the girl toward him, for often at this time the little girl first protests against the social limitations placed upon her because of her sex, and states her wish that she were a boy and could grow into a man.

The daughter, once she turns to the father, is not infrequently jealous of the mother's relationship with him; and she may manoeuvre so as to bring about friction between the parents. She is more apt to accomplish this disturbance in case she continues her father-fixation into the adult period. Under such conditions she may show deep but subtle jealousy of the mother and at any opportunity attempt to force from the father a decision which requires his choosing to support the daughter against the wife or the wife against the daughter. If the father fails to sympathize with her, and she alone acts as judge, she threatens to leave home and sometimes finally does. Whether in or out of the home she will persist in her efforts to bind her father to herself and to wedge herself in between her parents. The last resort of some of these women appears to be the development of some nervous trouble which will force the family to give them sympathy. They are then likely to use to the uttermost the opportunity provided by their physician's statement that they must not be annoyed, to tyrannize over the other members of the

family and especially to put upon the father demands which under other circumstances he would not be likely to grant.

The following case illustrates an extreme father-fixation followed by a nervous breakdown. X, a very successful business man, has two children. The older, a daughter, was his favorite child. To her he gave an unusual amount of attention for a man so engrossed in his occupation. He is exceedingly ambitious, and according to his own statement instilled in his daughter from early years a profound craving for distinction. Unfortunately he never considered the possibility of her failing to fulfill his ambitions for her. She was well educated and at the end of her training for life she undertook, one after another, vocational opportunities. In none of them was she successful. With every repeated experience which she interpreted as failure, she withdrew increasingly her sympathy from her father, although up to that time they had been inseparable comrades. The climax came when she and her mother had a quarrel and the father was called in to umpire. He supported his wife against the daughter and soon after she had a very serious and strange nervous breakdown. From that time until now—some five years—she has refused to have anything at all to do with the father. The money that she has received from him has had to pass through the hands of the mother. She makes use of every opportunity in conversation with her former friends to criticize and condemn her father. It is apparent to all except herself that she is reacting with the characteristics of the neurotic disposition against what became a painful father-fixation. She attempted to follow the footsteps of her father and arrive at distinction. Apparently she did not have the physical or intellectual vitality to accomplish her purpose. To save herself from condemnation she destroys

her former overpowering eagerness to satisfy her father's ambition for her.

If the girl passes into the third period safely and bestows her affection more largely out of the family upon girl friends she encounters a new risk. Her fellowship with her own sex continues into adolescence and social convention requires that she sublimate the newly awakening impulses that would otherwise turn her attention to men. She matures sooner than the boy and the impulses that make for heterosexual interests arrive sooner than social convention arranges for their expression. The girl, therefore, may force these new impulses to express themselves in her present associations and in this manner for the second time in her career she runs risk of becoming permanently homosexual in her affection. Instinct would turn her attention to boys. Convention attempts to prevent this and to postpone until a later time her contact with the opposite sex. As a result she falls back upon her present social resources and finds in other girls a considerable outlet for her need of a more significant association.

In this critical fourth period the girl has to depend upon her father. For a second time the task of bringing her into wholesome heterosexual affection depends upon him. She will naturally gravitate to him for sympathy and comradeship. For three or four years he has a deeper entrance in her life than has anyone else and if he uses his opportunity wisely he has the satisfaction of seeing her gradually seek in men of her own age the comradeship that her normal emotional and social development requires. During this period the father can be more helpful to her than at any other period of her life. It is his privilege to reveal to her the strength and trustworthiness of masculine character so that because of him she can somewhat understand men and have confidence in them. His exhibition

of himself will most determine her opinion of men and her reaction to them. If he fails her, she runs danger of carrying through life, whether she marries or not, an abnormal attitude toward men and inherent lack of confidence in them. The father may fail. His inability to cope with the situation may result from his lack of capacity, his intellectual or moral weakness, or it may come about because of the previous attitude of the mother toward the father, perhaps toward all men.

Now will appear the mother's early teaching and its influence upon the daughter. The mother may have criticized the father, ridiculed him, discounted him in the presence of the child. She may have talked much about the vices of men. There are all sorts of baneful suggestions within her power, especially when she has herself been discontented or disappointed in her marriage. As a consequence of such influences the daughter may recoil from her father first and later from all men. If this happens she is unable to cross the line into the heterosexual attitude that is biologically her right; and must withdraw within herself or find in women the satisfaction of her desire for intimate sympathy and contact.

Y is a typical example of a young woman who finds it impossible to commit herself to heterosexual affection. Her mother apparently married unwisely and brought up her daughter to have little respect for the father who had died in the daughter's early childhood. From the beginning up to the time the daughter passed out of her influence at graduation from college, the mother hammered away at the idea that the daughter must never marry. It happens that the young woman is very attractive and really has strong impulses that would lead her to marriage. She, however, never gets beyond an elementary state of flirtation. As soon as her male friend begins to suggest the

possibility of marriage she immediately transfers her interest to some other person. She particularly enjoys such measure of comradeship with older married men as convention permits. The young woman recognizes the childhood cause of her present difficulties but she never is able to go beyond day-dreaming of marriage.

It is not strange that the facts as gathered by those who have to do with the neurotic problems of women seem to point to the conclusion that girls more easily and more frequently than boys remain for too long a time in the stage of mother love. The evidence at present suggests that the stage of father-fixation is built upon the earlier mother affection. The girl carries over her affection in a way the boy does not need to do, for in his case the relationship is not merely a change of affection; it is also different in quality and contains the element of idealization of the father's activities. It is the desire for achievement that seems to give motive power to the boy's changing from mother to father. In the case of the girl it is rather more unalloyed affection and the satisfying of impulses that are involved in her growing maternal interest.

The girl's fixation upon the mother has a deeper and more disturbing effect upon the girl's emotional life than has the boy's, for her mother love is more easily maintained throughout life and more frequently shows itself in the neurosis.

If the girl enters upon the second period and bestows upon the father the deeper affection that formerly she gave the mother she assumes all the risks that the boy meets in his mother-fixation. The girl may be loth to turn from the father to her schoolmates later. Either her own inclination or the excessive indulgent love of the father may lead to her permanently turning her affection to the father. In this case she will, like the boy suffering from

mother-fixation, find marriage difficult. If she marries finally she is likely to be too much influenced by her father's characteristics and to seek in her husband her earlier love-relationship with her father. However much her husband may have suggested the father in some form of likeness especially significant to her, he will, nevertheless, fail to duplicate the father's personality at other essential points and she is likely to find marriage disappointing. Wives of this sort are forever talking to visitors and to the family about their fathers and making comparison between the husband's failures and the father's supposed successes. They are also given to excessive "love-story" reading, finding in fiction the opportunity to turn from the disappointing home-reality. If the father attained eminence in any definite occupation or enterprise they also seek some way of getting public recognition, preferably in the same way as the parent. In such cases the home is apt to be neglected and at best thought of as an unpleasant obligation.

An interesting psychological study of Charlotte Brontë reveals very clearly the unfortunate influence of her father upon her development of affection. The father was a hypochondriac, a dyspeptic and an ascetic. He did not believe in marriage and was particularly opposed to Charlotte's marrying. He was very fond of her and equally jealous. Unable to get on well with his fellows, he became a monarch of the home. He kept Charlotte constantly by his side and under his authority. Her supreme desire was to please him and minister to his whims. His changing moods, his coldness and expressions of disapproval and criticisms for which she accepted responsibility, coming to her as she tried to show her affection, made her doubtful of herself and distrustful of others. Thus she acquired characteristics that made a normal, wholesome social life

impossible. She was forced in upon herself emotionally and found refuge in books and in fancy. Her mother was dead and thus she was doubly unfortunate. The evil results of her uncomfortable, tragic childhood stamped themselves deeply upon her personality and colored and hurt her art.[1]

In her novels as well as in her social behavior the influences of her father and her morbid childhood are apparent. Hiding from herself even the real source of her romances she reiterated in one form after another the emotional stress which had resulted in her own life from her excessive devotion to her father. Her sisters also were similarly affected and each in turn sought an outlet in reading and in writing. The deforming influence of the home made each of the children unable to adapt herself to her social environment. They were denied happiness, but from their experience resulted an overflowing of emotions which, expressed in art, gave them a portion of satisfaction. Society gained works of fiction second to none in their intensity of emotional reaction against surroundings that were crushing the inner self.

It is as necessary, of course, for the father to release his daughter from excessive fixation upon him as it is that he furnish her with an opportunity to idealize masculine character. Occasionally we find in life a daughter that has become captive to her father's claims upon her affection to a degree that makes maturity extremely difficult. In such cases the father is apt to hide the truth from himself by concealing what is really selfishness under the cover of protection. He convinces himself that the daughter is unable to face life by herself, when as a matter of fact her help-

(1) Dooley, L., A Psychoanalytical Study of Charlotte Brontë, Proceedings of the International Conference of Women Physicians, 1920, Vol. 5, pp. 103-30.

lessness is forced upon her because of her effort to submerge her personality in harmony with his purposes.

The case of K is especially interesting. She is the eldest of the three daughters of an unusual father, gifted and prosperous. The entire household centered about him, and he gave himself without stint to his daughters. This particular daughter concentrated her entire emotional life in him. As she developed it became more and more difficult for her to pursue the type of life he chose for her. As a result she developed two different attitudes, one the kind of self demanded of her by her father and the other her real self, which she concealed from all others. Upon the death of the father she found herself stranded. She had many friends, culture, an attractive personality and a considerable social popularity. At once, however, there ensued a struggle between her habitual self which had been constructed to please her father and her original, deeper, instinctive self. The contest, which made it impossible for her either to satisfy fully her own desires or to give herself thoroughly to the line of conduct which she felt would have been the choice of her father, paralyzed her intellectual activities and destroyed her happiness. She came seeking an understanding of her conflict. She was quick to comprehend the morbid fixation which she had placed upon her father while living and was now attempting to put upon his memory; and found a satisfactory solution in striving along the lines of her own inclinations for the happiness which was her father's deepest desire for her.

It is obvious that the instinct of sex plays a prominent role throughout a girl's development. It is in the psychic elements of her sex life, her reactions to sex, that mischief may ensue. It is not unusual for sex difficulties to show themselves first when the daughter begins to associate with her schoolmates. Curiosity about sex is pretty certain to

express itself at this time, especially when parents have by their lack of frankness magnified the mystery of sex. Then appear the results of the parents' influence, most especially that of the mother, and a vicious sex attitude may result. The mother by her attitude toward sex, consciously or unconsciously expressed, may make it exceedingly difficult for the child to have the right outlook upon life. She may react violently against the first expressions of her newly awakened sex instinct and attempt to smother it. The effort will make the impulses the more conscious and she will call in disgust and suspicion to help her overcome the impulses that she fears and misinterprets. Thus she moves on toward a possible dissociation and inner conflict. In any case, the even on-going of her affection ceases. Her experiences may later drive her away from all thought of marriage and force her to seek only in women an outlet for her affections.

It is in this period of dependence upon her schoolmates, at the very beginning of adolescent cravings, that the girl is prone to develop "crushes" upon older girls and women. A crush upon a teacher is no uncommon thing. These experiences are bad when they continue and hamper the girl's progress toward a heterosexual relationship. When the teacher, for example, finds the young girl developing for her an excessive hero-worship she should regard her situation as one calling for skill and the highest sense of ethical responsibility. The "crush" is as a preparatory experience wholesome, but it must not be allowed to establish permanent homosexual tendencies in the girl. Nor must it end in such a way as to shock the girl and take from her forever the spontaneous confidence in people that means so much for social success and happiness.

The period that covers the daughter's greatest need of her father's help is necessarily brief. She normally passes

quickly on to the next adventure in affection and her impulses turn all the deep interests of her life toward men of her own age. Her emotions and her thought are concentrated upon her new experiences in heterosexual association. It is easy for the adult to forget how tremendous these reactions are in the average girl. What she wears, where she goes, what she does, all her behavior is primarily related to "man." Her feeble efforts to conceal this fact frequently make it all the more noticeable. She is like an actress playing a part with her consciousness fixed upon her audience.

If her new attention to men receives a favorable response her emotional life is wont to flow smoothly. She may still err, to be sure, in her judgment and may consequently make an unwise choice for a life-mate, but she has at least passed through all the various phases of the love experience that precedes adulthood.

Society, especially while it tolerates war, cannot promise to every woman who passes through the successive stages of childhood affection a successful marriage. For many there can be no marriage at all. That is particularly true of the coming generation because of the great disproportion of the two sexes as a result of the world war. The parent and the teacher must keep in mind the fact that the thwarted instincts do not have the danger of suppressed instincts. It is far better to go through childhood with all the normal experiences of affection that belong to it and then not marry, than to remain single because of emotional misfortunes incurred in the process of growing up. Wholesome impulses can be sublimated and society enriched. The woman who does not marry but who has made all the natural transferences of affection has a substantial basis for happiness in social service. Even though she has no children of her own, she is prepared to love

those of others. She does not harbor unreasonable prejudices against men. She is less likely to develop nervous troubles. There are for her many captivating sublimates for her sex life, of which she is unlikely ever to be painfully conscious. Religion, music, poetry, fiction, business, social service, nursing are the most common sublimates. She is surely a better human being, more natural in her outlook upon life, less isolated from her associates, as a result of having followed the well-beaten pathway along which girlhood travels to maturity.

Topics for Discussion

1. Are women more neurotic than men? If so, why?
2. What are the possible consequences of a girl's fixation of affection upon her mother? Upon her father?
3. What famous women have been influenced by mother-fixation or father-fixation?
4. To what extent can art furnish an outlet for emotional disturbances due to childhood fixation?
5. What marriage difficulties originate from childhood fixation?
6. What can the school do for the shut-in adolescent girl?
7. How can the mother destroy the girl's normal interest in men?
8. How does morbid sex interest sometimes show itself in school life?
9. Is sublimation of sex a wiser educational program than the suppression of sex?
10. Should married women be permitted to teach in public schools?
11. How should a teacher reveal to a mother a case of mother-fixation in her adolescent child?

Topics for Reports

1. Analysis of cases of mother-fixation among adolescent girls.
2. Marriage failure due to parent-fixation.
3. The love-story as compensation.
4. The Brontë family.
5. The therapeutic value of art in cases of emotional fixation.
6. Nervous difficulties due to childhood fixation.
7. The emotional basis of the "nervous breakdown."
8. The value of father comradeship to the girl.
9. The "crush" experience of adolescent girls.
10. The teacher's responsibilities to the girl who has a "crush" for her.
11. The influence of war upon social selection through its effect upon the proportion of the sexes.
12. The marriage rate of college graduates.
13. The influence of college co-education upon marriage.

Supplementary Readings

Blanchard, P., *The Adolescent Girl,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1919.

Jung, C. G., *Psychology of the Unconscious, ch. 6,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1916.

Knight, M. M., Peters, I. L. and Blanchard, P., *Taboo and Genetics, Part II, ch. 2,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1920.

Long, C., *Mary Rose: Study of the Infantile Personality,* British Journal of Psychology, Medical Series, Oct., 1921.

Miller, H. C., *The New Psychology and the Teacher, ch. 5,* Thomas Seltzer, New York, 1922.

Myerson, A., *The Foundations of Personality, ch. 14,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1921.

Southard, E. E. and Jarrett, M. C., *The Kingdom of Evils, Book 2, Case 23, pp. 133-37,* Macmillan, New York, 1922.

Spencer, A. G., *The Family and its Members, ch. 2,* Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1923.

Spencer, A. G., *The Social Education of Women,* Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 13, pp. 11-28, 1918.

Taft, J., *Some Problems in Delinquency—Where do they Belong?* Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 16, pp. 186-96, 1921.

Thomas, W. I., *Sex and Society, pp. 223-47,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1907.

CHAPTER XV

The Inferiority Complex and Social Behavior

The influence of the inferiority complex shows itself in human experience in myriad ways and its importance for the understanding of human behavior can hardly be overemphasized. The student of conduct therefore needs a clear understanding of the meaning of the inferiority complex, and this perhaps can best be gained from a brief statement regarding the origin of the term.

Alfred Adler of Vienna was led by his investigations of the psychic effects of inferior organs upon character to the conviction that the chief effort of an individual suffering from any physical defect was to overcome, if possible, the sense of inferiority. We have long known that whenever the body was particularly hampered by the deficiency or defect of any of its organs, the body as a whole reacted to the situation and by increasing the activity of other organs made an adjustment, if that were possible, that continued the life of the individual in as normal a fashion as circumstances permitted. This new distribution of organic function is known as compensation. Adler noticed that wherever this compensation took place there were mental peculiarities, as well as physical, that went with the situation. The afflicted person carried with him the consciousness of being at a disadvantage as compared with those with whom he had contacts. He dwelt upon his personal handicap excessively until his mental fixation became a cause of serious nervous trouble. Adler found that whenever the body was hampered by some peculiarity or defect, the physical compensation process was

accompanied by a process of compensation in the mind itself. First the mind was obsessed with an idea of insufficiency; then if the compensation was successful came the idea of protest against the inferiority, followed by very excessive self-assertion. When we speak of the inferiority complex we call this successful mental compensation "the masculine protest," since man struggles against his weakness. Whenever the inferiority complex comes, there is an excessive amount of self-assertion; but where the inferiority is not satisfactorily compensated for, there is a chronic feeling of inferiority. In his attempt to triumph over his apparent weakness the individual may over-accomplish his task and, by the development of a sensitive nervous structure, actually produce results beyond the normal. No better illustration of this can be given than the ability of the blind to develop the sense of touch beyond the attainment of the normal, seeing individual, and thus compensate for the loss of vision.

The neurotics, therefore, according to Adler, suffer from a chronic sense of inferiority due to organic deficiencies of some kind and their conduct is a persistent effort to overcome this sense of inferiority. Thus the neurotic puts before himself the task of compensation, makes a masculine protest—and seeks to secure the largest possible satisfaction of his ego-consciousness. Lacking esteem, in his own eyes, he strives to assert himself and thus hide from himself the fact of his physical inferiority. At least he attempts to push out of consciousness the feeling of inferiority and to turn his own attention, and if possible the attention of others, to the characteristics or possessions or attainments which he has chosen as compensations for his original defects.

"The little man swaggers and talks in a loud voice, the woman without brains uses every device to be beautiful and

charming, the woman who can not be beautiful goes to college and takes an interest in 'higher' things, the menial compensates by insolence to superiors. The Southerner clings to his belief in his aristocratic descent and the tradition of *noblesse oblige*, seeking to forget the relative inferiority of his section in economic and intellectual development. The New Englander makes a virtue of necessity and cherishes the faults as well as the excellencies of the middle class. The Westerner boasts the material greatness of his country because he has not yet taken time to acquire cultural greatness. Compensation for inferiority may be found in many ways; perhaps chiefly through attracting attention away from the defect. It may, however, consist in conquering or rising above that very defect. The classic example of this latter is, of course, Demosthenes, who from the stutterer grew to be the orator."(1)

The egoism of neurotics, their tendency to envy and jealousy, their eagerness to undervalue others, especially their rivals, come from the inner feeling of inferiority. By their psychic attitudes they stimulate themselves as with a whip to still greater effort in their quest for adequacy of self-satisfaction. The goal of accomplishment is ever pushed forward into the future as the efforts at compensation continue. Neurotics easily vacillate between fear of failure, thoughts of weakness, and hopes of success. They naturally turn to phantasy and give up the hard, painful task of actual striving against their inherent difficulties and take instead the easily reached, pleasant-tasting fruit of the tree of self-deception and fancy.

There is at present a tendency to extend the meaning of inferiority complex, and to use it with reference to feelings of inferiority that have a social rather than a

(1) Pruett, L., Inferiority Complex and Pluralistic Behavior, Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 9, p. 29, Jan., 1922.

physical origin. As a means of explaining the motives that operate upon conduct this wider use of the term is justified. A sense of social inadequacy due to poverty, family disgrace or unpopularity has much the same consequences in the behavior of the individual as does the more serious organic inferiority described by Adler. We find the same masculine-protest attitude toward the unfavorable social conditions, the same tendency toward fictitious satisfactions by means of phantasy and day-dreaming. It is, however, a less serious form of inferiority experience than is organic defect.

When the term inferiority complex is used in this wider social meaning one naturally asks whether anyone escapes a degree of inferiority complex. The answer depends upon the definition given inferiority. The person who never feels any sense of inferiority is rare indeed. But unless there is a considerable and lasting and consequential inferiority-experience the expression is not properly used. The psychiatric use of the term restricts it to a chronic, deep-seated, neurotically-inclined inferiority feeling.

From a social viewpoint we must recognize three distinct classes of people. There are some who have what deserves the designation superiority-complex. These persons are excessively certain of themselves and satisfied with themselves beyond reason. This confidence is not the result of over-compensation of original inferiority; from the beginning these persons have had too good an opinion of themselves. They have no sense of weakness or deficiency at all. Their minds refuse to recognize or tolerate ideas that would lead to estimation of inferiority. They are particularly difficult to deal with because they resent any treatment that is not based upon their exaggerated idea of their own importance. Some of these persons staggering under a superiority-complex are the product of unwise

treatment given them by their parents in the early years of childhood. Others appear to be born with excessive self-assertion and whatever their treatment suffer to some degree from their unfortunate strength of instinct.

There is the sane-minded group that does not experience to any significant degree inferiority or superiority. They have no excessive ego-complex at all. They are from the beginning well-balanced with regard to their own importance. They are easily handled by parent or teacher. As associates they are popular and agreeable.

The third group, made up of those who feel inferiority to such a degree as to have it show itself in their behavior, is a large class if the term, inferiority-complex, be used in its widest sense to include feelings of physical, mental or social origin. They come about in this way. Something happens in the life of the person—sickness, weakness, deformity, unpopularity, poverty or some shocking experience that carries with it a sense of shame. It matters not what it is, it is something that brings to the mind of the person the idea that he is inferior. This thought does not fasten upon him at once, but lingers with him, revisits him from time to time until he has the constant thought that he is inferior. He tries to cover it up, but he is sensitive; so he compensates for it excessively and conceals it by his self-assertion. He generally tries to have the opposite of the cause of his complex. If suffering from a poverty-complex, he will trp to be a wealthy man and may win success because of his poverty in early life. If he has been unpopular, he struggles for popularity and is likely later, in most cases, to be very popular indeed. If he has a physical type of complex, his trial is more difficult. In that case he usually finds something he can do well, and he will stress that to the utmost. For instance, in college he stresses his scholarship. He is protesting against his early situation by

being particularly thoughtful and scholarly, and no doubt many scholars become such in protest against original inferiority.

In the milder form of compensation we have less difficulty with the physical than with psychological or social elements. Ordinarily the body makes up for its deficiencies to some extent, just as the blind man acquires an advantage as well as a handicap. We can see that clearly if we watch the mental processes of a blind man. It is especially true if the blindness came early in life. But when it is a question of inferiority of social origin, nature does not help. The body can take care of its weakness because the body is constructed for that, but society does not automatically take care of similar psychological and social difficulties.

The sufferer from poverty or family disgrace or personal shame has more difficulty than does the physical weakling in getting the amount of compensation necessary for successful protest. The reason for this is that just as soon as the person goes out into society to overcome the difficulty, society stimulates his weakness and he becomes very conscious of it. It may be that he is less weak than he thinks, and maybe nobody notices his weakness; but so far as he himself is concerned, he thinks of it seriously and constantly. The result is that he suffers when he does not need to suffer, and he does not value his compensation. If you know him personally you often find that he has actually lived in such a way as finally to destroy the need of making compensation. It is the pathos of his life that he keeps in memory the source of his earlier suffering even when it has been forgotten or dismissed from the minds of his associates. The person laboring under this type of inferiority complex never achieves a satisfactory amount of success. The moment he wins the prize he coveted, he

ceases to value it and strives for something else. His sense of inferiority saves him from conceit, but it makes his life a difficult one.

Often, in the body, there is an increasing amount of nervous activity as the result of organic defect, and the body expends more nervous energy than it ought. When we say that a person is nervous we frequently mean that he has a small capital of nervous strength and that he exhausts what he has more rapidly than the normal person. Nature can not make up for his excessive activity. Often the more work he does, the less sleep he is able to get. The result is that he wastes his energy more rapidly than does the average person.

With reference to an inferiority complex of social origin, it is not necessary that the feeling be based on actual fact. It may be the result of suggestion. The person thinks of himself as having an inferiority, and because he thinks as he does he gradually develops the characteristics of a real inferiority complex. An individual who falsely supposes himself suffering from heart trouble of a serious character may react to his assumption in such a way as to make his imagined affliction the dominant element in his behavior. In like manner the belief that one occupies a position of inferiority will produce social behavior in harmony with the status of actual inferiority. For example, one who believes himself socially unpopular is likely to shut himself in, to keep away from association as much as possible, until finally his aloofness and awkwardness and sensitiveness make him truly unpopular and bring him conclusive evidence of the fact which he has long erroneously believed.

A great many of the famous men of history have been interpreted as sufferers from an inferiority complex. Luther, for instance, is a striking illustration of strong masculine protest against an earlier sense of inferiority.

"The peasant's son Luther, the monk, the doctor of philosophy, with his trenchant pen and his stubborn pride, afforded this personality. It is interesting to contrast those early years in the monastery during which Luther tormented his soul with doubts of himself, in which he could never convince himself of his purity but continually questioned his own worthiness of salvation and gave himself over to prayer and fasting, with the later years of firmness, of strength in spite of sickness, of conviction of righteousness, of fearlessness in doing anything which furthered his guiding fiction, here the fasting, trembling monk upon his knees, there the reformer, burning the papal bull in return for the burning of his books by the Pope's emissaries, the peasant's son, the monk, in defiance proclaiming himself the equal of the descendant of the de Medici, of him who held the keys of heaven and hell. There is little doubt that Luther sought and gained abundant compensation for his early years of inferiority."(1)

In all forms of behavior we find the influence of a sense of inferiority operating and giving direction to conduct. One finds, for example, in family life that the man or woman who has an inferiority complex tends to be despotic. The discipline of such persons is not to be trusted. Their dominance over family life shows itself to the utmost in all possible forms of expression. If a man of this sort marries, he is likely to marry someone who will permit him to dominate. He can not happily live with anyone who demands equality. If, by mistake, he marries such a person, family unhappiness is bound to result. It may be the wife rather than the husband, however, who has the inferiority complex. In that case she will attempt to be the man of the house; and ordinarily, although success-

(1) Pruett, L., "Inferiority Complex and Pluralistic Behavior," Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 9, p. 33, Jan., 1922.

ful, will not be satisfied even by that. She will want also to dominate the neighborhood or to express her ego-consciousness in politics or reform. Behind everything she does is the desire to dominate for its own sake. She will not be interested in any sort of reform because of its social significance, but merely because through it she will have another opportunity to dominate.

So in family life a good many difficulties originate because of feelings of inferiority. Men who are not strong enough to dominate anywhere else have an opportunity to dominate at home. The less self-expression they have elsewhere, the more power they claim in the home. With their children they are likely to be overstrict. In the adolescent period of the child this situation often brings about a struggle between the overpowering parent and the instinct of the developing personality.

A high school teacher is constantly in difficulty with his students. However well-behaved they may be when he steps into the classroom, he is sure to find some occasion for rebuking some member of the class, and as a result of his unfounded accusation the class becomes unruly and in time he has a really serious difficulty. Friends say that he persists in this bad practice even though from experience one would suppose he would learn better. Apparently he is not satisfied until he stirs up a situation that calls forth his use of authority. In the light of this behavior it is interesting to know that he is married to a wealthy woman who dominates his life in every detail. She decides where he is to live, what entertainments he is to attend, picks his associates and makes his home life miserable. He has confided to his friends the deep-seated irritation he feels in his home situation. Just as a business man who suffers inferiority in his occupation frequently takes it out on his wife and children, so in this case a teacher

dissatisfied with his insignificance in the home attempts to express his will-to-power in the schoolroom, even though he never successfully maintains his authority.

Industry is replete with illustrations of the harmful influence of persons suffering from inferiority complexes having authority over others. Men who suffered inferiority complexes in their childhood often are driven through life by their inner sense of inadequacy and, as they increase their power, make greater and greater efforts to dominate others in order to bring about emotional satisfaction. Such persons may be capitalists who enjoy the present opportunity that the struggle between capital and labor affords for a contest; or they may be labor leaders who in the same manner make use of their authority to bring about strikes, not to advance the interests of the laborers so much as to satisfy their own inherent craving for power. The teacher has an exceptional opportunity to express inner feelings of inferiority in cruel dominance.

It would be for the interest of society if it were possible to withhold from men who are seriously suffering from inferiority complex such authority as falls into the hands of wardens of prisons, officers in the army and navy, heads of industrial plants, or men in control of such organizations as labor unions.

There is, however, a more serious result from inferiority complex than comes from excessive ego-activities. The person who feels inferiority but who is lacking in vitality or opportunity may give up the fight to express himself and turn to fancy as a means of satisfying his desire for self-expression. Thereupon, his reactions to his inner sense of inferiority are symbolic. This kind of person will not go out into the world and by masculine protest obtain a degree of success, but will imagine he has power or wealth or whatever satisfies his desire for self-expression. He may

develop his phantasy to such an extent as to be socially irresponsible. In this case we pronounce him insane. In the psychiatric vocabulary we find the technical term *Jehovah complex.* This stands for the development of the inferiority complex to such an extent that one imagines himself in absolute power. Sometimes persons with a Jehovah complex think themselves Napoleon or Julius Cæsar or even Jehovah himself. Of course the symbolic reaction is the most unwholesome and needs most to be guarded against in the training of children.

If a child shows symptoms of feelings of inferiority it is of the utmost importance that he be led away from any compensation which he may be obtaining from fancy. What he needs most is an opportunity to taste a degree of actual success. The best that we can do for such a child is to give him a sense of confidence which will encourage him in his masculine protest. If his feeble efforts at compensation are treated with derision or even with misunderstanding he withdraws within himself, thinks much of his weakness, and finally falls back upon his imagination. Fancy is equal to the task and can easily give him any amount of self-satisfaction if only he will withdraw himself from the actual world and give himself utterly to fiction. The price he must pay for his psychic relief is the undermining of his sense of reality. The child who is weak or sickly or deformed or in any way physically defective or socially handicapped is likely to be particularly sensitive to his unfortunate circumstances. He is a candidate for inferiority and if no assistance is given him in his earliest efforts to emerge from his circumstances, he at least is tempted to take refuge in the fictions that will lead him toward a neurotic career. Unfortunate circumstances are not inherently evil. Men and women of strong character compensate for conditions that crush the weak. It is the

dwelling emotionally upon handicaps that makes them such a tremendous burden. It is too much to expect children to recognize this fact unless they are given insight by the discerning parent or teacher.

Topics for Discussion

1. What is the meaning of inferiority complex?
2. How did Adler develop his theory of inferiority?
3. What is the masculine protest?
4. Why are neurotics excessively selfish?
5. What social conditions may cause an inferiority complex?
6. How does inferiority complex show itself in school children? School authorities?
7. What historic characters have won fame by means of masculine protest?
8. How may feelings of inferiority lead to petty tyranny in the home or factory?
9. How can education offer compensation for feelings of inferiority?
10. How should the schools treat children who are shy, timid, or boastful due to inferiority complexes?

Topics for Reports

1. Definition of inferiority complex.
2. Adler's theory of masculine protest.
3. Analysis of cases of neurotics suffering from inferiority complex.
4. The superiority complex.
5. The influence of inferiority complex upon educational ambition.
6. Studies of historic cases of inferiority complex.
7. Inferiority complex and industrial conflicts.
8. Analysis of school cases of sensitiveness due to inferiority complex.
9. A school problem for draining off excessive aggressiveness due to masculine protest.
10. Adolescent day-dreaming and inner feelings of inferiority.

Supplementary Readings

Adler, A., *Neurotic Constitution,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1917.

Adler, A., *Organ Inferiority and its Psychical Compensation,* Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series No. 24, Washington, D. C.

Bjerre, P., *The History and Practice of Psychoanalysis, ch. 4* Badger, Boston, 1920.

Burrow, T., *Notes with Reference to Freud, Jung and Adler,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 12, pp. 161-67, Aug., 1917.

Freeman, R. A., *Social Decay and Regeneration, pp. 204-12,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1921.

Harlow, R. V., *A Psychological Study of Samuel Adams,* Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 9, pp. 418-28, Oct., 1922.

Hinkle, B. M., *The Moral Conflict and the Relation of the Psychological Types to the Functional Neuroses,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 14, pp. 173-89, Aug., 1919.

Paton, S., *Psychology of the Radical,* Yale Review, Vol. II New Series, pp. 89-100, Oct., 1921.

Pruett, L., *Some Applications of the Inferiority Complex to Pluralistic Behavior,* Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 9, pp. 28-39, Jan., 1922.

Putnam, J. J., *The Work of Alfred Adler, Considered with Especial Reference to that of Freud,* Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. 3, pp. 121-40, April, 1916.

White, W. A., *The Adlerian Concept of the Neuroses,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 12, pp. 168-73, Aug., 1917.

White, W. A., *Foundations of Psychiatry, pp. 93-100,* Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series No. 32, Washington, D. C., 1921.

White, W. A., *Mechanisms of Character Formation, chs. 8, 9, 11, 12,* Macmillan, New York, 1916.

Menninger, K. A., *The Mental Effects of Deafness,* The Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. II, pp. 144-55, April, 1924.

CHAPTER XVI

Phantasy and Social Rationalization

The tendency to phantasy is inherent in human nature. The creative power of imagination is made use of as a means of hiding unpleasant facts from oneself. The constructions of fancy may replace the actual conditions and then they receive the reactions that belong to real things. The existing environment is replaced by an imagined one and the conduct is adjusted to the fancied circumstances. The imagination would be unable to accomplish this seeming miracle were it not that the air castles are built in accord with the desires of the dreamer and therefore have come into being as a means of escaping from the hard circumstances of reality. Fancy steps in to cater to cravings which the person despairs of satisfying by successful grappling with the real conditions. Fancy spins a cocoon and the soft, flimsy covering of phantasy comes between the dreamer and the harsh contacts of his every-day experiences.

Wherever fear has sway the tendency to phantasy is augmented. We have countless illustrations in savage life of the effect of fear in creating the most diabolical imaginations, which once they are created are passed through the group by suggestion until they become realities to the people and from a psychological viewpoint are to be taken as seriously in understanding the environment that operates upon the thinking and acting of the natives as if they were physical forces of an adverse environment. As is commonly known, much of the religious life of primitive people is an attempt to propitiate these subjective con-

structions. The thinking of the people is tightly bound by the tyranny of their own terror. Leonard's thoughtful study of the primitive tribes of the Lower Niger is replete with illustrations of this savage experience. In the following words Leonard summarizes the situation. "In endeavoring, therefore, to fathom the psychology of these people, it is not only imperative that the dualism of their nature should be acknowledged, but that the supremacy of the spiritual over the human, in other words, of illusion or the subjective, as compared with reality or the objective, be clearly recognized. For in no other way is it possible to understand them. This alone will explain why a people who are literal and natural, acknowledging as they do the burden of the flesh and the practical value of utility, or the substantially useful, should live under the entire and absolute control of the non-existent phantasmal. Further, it will also explain the seemingly anomalous assertion that while the supremacy of the latter has certainly kept them from relapsing into the depths of decadent savagedom, it has at the same time prevented them from advancing towards the heights of expanding civilization."[1]

It must not be supposed that any trait so universal in human nature is altogether harmful. Phantasy has its benign aspects. When reality is too harsh or too exacting, the process of phantasy may bring immediate relief. At the time of the Halifax explosion many lives were lost as a result of the concussion. One man, returning to his home at night, found all his family dead. He entered the house a sane man. When he stepped over the threshold a few minutes later, he was hopelessly insane. Confronted by an insupportable calamity he had found refuge in lasting phantasy.

---

(1) Leonard, A. G., The Lower Niger and its Tribes, p. 64.

Phantasy may become a transition experience leading the individual onward to the facing of the actual circumstances eventually. A woman whose son or husband is reported missing at the battle refuses to give up the idea that he will finally come back even though there is little rational basis for the continued expectation of his return. The phantasy construction is exceedingly comforting until the individual is equal to the facing of the actual facts. Persons that are radical with reference to social experience often illustrate the inability to react reasonably to circumstances that appear harsh. They become radical because in their own personal life they have suffered or are suffering from conditions which they do not wish to face squarely. Instead of recognizing their own emotional disturbance and their own loss of contentment they turn their restlessness and dissatisfaction outward and create in society a theory of straw against which they can express their hostility. Fed as they are by their subjective impulses, no experience can deaden their enthusiasm and no change of social circumstances will lead them in the slightest degree to a favorable attitude. They are most happy in finding most fault since by the process they relieve themselves from their own inner disturbance and generally indeed from their own inner sense of inferiority.

The child's phantasies take many forms. They begin with his parents and are expressed with reference to the relations with father and mother in the everyday life of the home. As soon as the child is old enough to construct thought at all he naturally imagines himself in situations that satisfy his desires with reference to his mother or his father. The actual content of these day-dreaming experiences will depend mostly upon the experiences of the child and the kind of fellowship he enjoys with his parents. He often thinks of himself as having the exclusive love

of the mother, for example, perhaps in such cases building up pictures that remove from him the competition of the father. He thinks of himself as having the possessions of the father, going with the father to his work, taking part in the earning of the family's livelihood. As soon as he begins to read he uses this new resource also as a means of adding material for the process of imagination.

Naturally in such circumstances he reacts immediately to unfavorable and unpleasant experiences by removing them from his consciousness by the process of day-dreaming. Every student of the child's day-dream has seen that such imaginations center about the ego and are for the most part attempts to satisfy the self-regarding instincts. The child thinks of himself as not appreciated by other members of the family. Perhaps he constructs an imagery of death, since he thinks his real worth would then be recognized by all, and everyone who has injured him in the family life would be repentant and regretful.

The child also finds recompense for what he considers ill-treatment by constructing day-dreams in which he puts those who have hurt him into disrepute. He has the hateful brother or sister thoroughly punished. In this way he obtains satisfaction denied him by the actual facts. He also turns to day-dreaming to get possession of things he lacks. He replaces his poverty by wealth, his restrictions by freedom. The wealthy family's resources become his standard. In the same way any want of skill, any supposed defect, is reacted to by the construction of images that make possible the greatest degree of skill, the largest possible attractiveness, or whatever appeals to his inner craving.

This tendency to imagery which is so natural to the child is detrimental to the adult because it keeps him from playing a man's part in the world. The child, there-

fore, has to be gradually led away from day-dreaming and taught in such a way as to make it possible for him to face the actual circumstances of life and if possible to control his circumstances in order that he may obtain his achievement by actually working out his purposes rather than merely dreaming about them.

The child's development in years and knowledge should be paralleled by a similar advancement into reality and a giving up of the childish props that assist in the first feeble efforts to carry the load of life. The success of the child's education from the world of phantasy to the world of reality is measured by the closeness of his fancies to life. If the images that float through his mind are warm with close contact with the real circumstances, his emotional maturity is assured. If, on the other hand, every hard fact is reacted to by a retreat into inner consciousness where images are constructed to compensate for the harshness of factual experience, the youth is in his heart of hearts emotionally immature and his childishness is bound to prove his undoing. The harder his circumstances, the greater his retreat; the more his retreat, the less his success in dealing with life; and thus he spins around the circle until perhaps as an adult he takes refuge permanently in some nervous affliction that will relieve him from further social responsibility.

It follows from this that there is risk in the child's use of fairy tales. There are few children who do not joyfully read such stories and delight in constructing them. If most children are not given fairy tales in their earlier years they will make them for themselves. The wise parent from the beginning will teach the youngest child that there are two kinds of stories, one representing actual fact and one, make-believe. By allowing the child to choose which he wishes, a sense of enormous difference

between the two types will be developed in his consciousness. This in itself will teach him the uselessness of looking to the fairy tale for any permanent satisfaction. It will become merely a fancy, a recreation, and as he develops he is likely to leave it behind until no story that does not suggest life will be interesting to him. Such children in the end may come to look upon the fairy story as uninteresting. This is especially true of boys, because they are given freedom to contest life in such a way as to take away from them any inclination to have recourse to phantasy for the satisfactions that ought to be attained by actual achievement. In so far as the girl's life is rational or free from repressions, the same thing occurs.

It must not be thought that any individual is likely to free himself altogether from tendencies to phantasy. The most mature and well trained mind is likely in its free associations to dwell upon experiences that are egoistic and of the character of day-dreams. The person finds himself thinking in terms of success not yet attained and with little thought upon the process of achievement. In so far as this leads eventually to ambition it is stimulating and inspirational. In so far as it is a mere recreational experience it relieves from fatigue and in the end incites to serious endeavor. When it becomes a chronic habit and the individual by this process obtains inner satisfactions, it degenerates into infantile day-dreaming, which is altogether unwholesome and detrimental to the welfare of the person. In other words, it shows failure to grow up, and bears testimony to the inherent difficulty of human nature in trying to leave behind all the magic of childhood wishes and buckle down and accept the heroic task of dealing with life as life actually is.

Since one does not like to accept the consequences of his own inner weakness, phantasy is tied up closely with

the tendency to rationalize. Rationalization is the giving of wrong reasons for one's belief or attitude or action. To protect oneself from personal criticism, one is constantly tempted to construct a fictitious explanation for the way one meets life. A doctor perhaps does not wish to leave his comfortable home to become an army physician in war time. It is easy indeed for him in such circumstances to argue with himself that he is unfit for such service, that he is needed in the community, that somebody else should go rather than himself, that he would not be accepted even if he volunteered. Back of all these reasons is the real motive which he keeps out of consciousness. As a matter of fact he does not want to go and does not make any effort to find out whether he is the one that ought to go and whether he would be accepted if he attempted to enlist.

Sincerity and efficiency demand of us a cutting through all of these emotional disguises into the heart of our motive where we can come in contact with the honest facts. Whether we shall have many or few processes of rationalization bearing up our inner motive is mostly a matter of early experience. In so far as a child is trained from the beginning to understand the risk of rationalization, to that extent he is likely to be free from the process.

Some years ago a woman who was married most unfortunately to a drinking, neurotic husband was advised by all her friends to get a divorce, but simply did not have the courage to go to the court and make public her suffering. She concealed from herself the real cause of her decision by affirming that her mother had always been opposed to divorce and that it would be dishonest to the mother's memory to go to the court. She persisted in this attitude even when her husband made attempts upon her life. One who knew the mother could not persuade himself that she would in any way have countenanced

such an extreme adherence to her views in an individual case of this severity. Here was a rationalization process constructed by one who had never had much contact with reality, but who in an environment of wealth had been protected until marriage from any considerable sense of self-responsibility.

At the beginning of adolescence there is commonly a revival of earlier habits of day-dreaming. This is in harmony with the emotional upheaval of this period and shows the desire of the child for new satisfactions and new successes, and the failure to get from actual experience much the soul hungers for. A turning to the earlier magic of thought is the natural consequence. The child spins out of consciousness his desires to dwell largely upon experiences that magnify the self and give the idea of social recognition and approval. If for any reason the child is particularly handicapped—for example, feels inferior to his associates—this turning to the day-dreaming mechanism is more pronounced.

A seven-year-old girl dictated the following story of a little girl's dream as part of a book she was writing. "Dorothy was in the midst of a great field with grass all around her and flowers all around her too—you know Dorothy loved flowers. She was picking bluebells and dandelions, and humming a merry little tune to herself, when all the flowers that she had picked turned into cats with wagging tails. Dorothy loved cats when she was on the farm, but now in her dream she hated them, and ran hither and thither, afraid that the cats would catch her, climbing trees and jumping bushes—with the cats after her, and now and then swimming in brooks, which, of course, she could do better than the cats. Although the cats were very smart she kept away from them for most half an hour and then she was caught in the corner of a tree.

Then she said to herself, 'Oh, I am lost. Why did I ever get in the corner of this tree? Oh, Oh, Oh.'

"Then, to her great surprise the cats all stood in front of her and bowed and said, 'Mistress, what shall we do now? We have done your bidding.' And she said with some surprise, 'I am not your mistress. You must have made a mistake, Mr. Cat.' Then they vanished, all but one, and he said, 'You said we were not your servants, but I want to be your servant; I am tired of my other mistress. What shall I do now?' he said with another courtesy-bow. 'Make me invisible and take me to see your other mistress,' said Dorothy with much surprise. 'All right,' said the cat with another courtesy-bow, and immediately she felt as if she were made of paper and all thin. Taking hold of the cat's hand they flew along. And there, after they had flown a while, down below they saw a throne made of pins and butter.

"And the cat pointed down and said, 'That is my mistress. She is neither cruel nor kind, she is half way between, as you will see when I take you down to her.' Then they floated downwards and the cat said to the fair lady on the pin and butter throne, 'This lady has come to see you; she thought she would like to; will you take her into your castle?' And the cat whispered to Dorothy, 'Now if she happens to be in the kind spell, she will; if not we do not know what will happen.' And the kind lady smiled kindly and said, 'Certainly, I would be glad to, and she may dine at my table.'

"Then Dorothy woke up, and found herself in her own little room, rubbing her eyes, and she said, 'Ho, ho, ho, what a funny dream. I must tell Mary and Ned and Jack.' And she ran downstairs to tell them."

The cravings of adolescence are pictured in the following phantasy taken from the diary of a sixteen-year-old

girl who made a hard struggle to meet the realities of working life.

"I am between heaven and earth. I float, as it were, on a dream cloud which carries me up at times into a glorious atmosphere and again nearer the mucky earth, but always on, always on. I see not man, I see not the children of man, the big Me lies in my head, in my hand, in my heart. I place myself upon the throne of Kings, and tramp the dusty road, care-free. I sing to myself and call me pretty names; I place myself upon the stage, and all mankind I call upon for applause, and applause roars to me as the thunder from the heavens. I reason that mine is not inevitable stage-madness which comes to all females of my pitiful age; mine is a predestined prophecy, mine is a holy design, my out-coming is a thing to be made way for.

"I bathe myself in perfumed waters, and my body becomes white and slender. I clothe myself in loosened gowns, silks as soft as thistledown, and I am transported to scenes of glory. The even stretch of green, bedecked with flowers to match the color of my pale gold gown, is mine to dance and skip upon. A lightness and a grace comes into my limbs. What joy is mine! I leap and spring and dart in rhythm with nature, and music leaps from my steps and movements and before my eyes are men. Men and women and children with heads bent forward, with eyes aglow with wonder, and with praise and love for this essence of grace and beauty which is I. What more, what more! I hang upon this idol of a dream, but it is gone. The height of happiness is reached; alas, even in dreams there is an end to happiness, the bubble bursts, and the dust and noise of earth come back to me. I shut my eyes and ears to these and seek consolation among the poor. In dreams I go often among them. With my heaping purse of gold, I give them clothes and beds to sleep

upon, I give them food to nourish them and me, to nourish and refresh my fame. But do I give my gold away, and does my purse cave inwards? Ah, no! Come to my aid, my imagination, for thou art very real to me today. An endless store of gold is mine in banks of state. My name is headed on the lists of all, my money does increase even as I hand it to these poor. The poor bless me, they kneel and kiss my hands. I bid them rise, and the hypocrisy of my godless soul bids them pray and in this find restoration.

"I grow weary as I walk, and truth is even harder yet to bear than ever before. I am sad, I have nothing, I am no one. But I speak soothingly to myself, bidding me treat my hungry self to food, and I promise that the night shall be long and the dreams and journeys many."(1)

One of the expressions of phantasy particularly common in childhood is identification. Every parent and teacher is thoroughly familiar with this tendency. Some years ago when Oliver Twist was played commonly in American cities it was discovered by chiefs of police everywhere that the coming of the play was followed by an increase of juvenile crime. This was due to the scene in which Fagin taught the young boys gathered about him to begin a life of theft. Dickens had pictured the scene so successfully that when it was dramatized it immediately did for many boys what the author showed it doing for Oliver. This can not be thought of as merely imitation in the ordinary sense because in carrying out the behavior of Oliver the boys had an emotional satisfaction which was built upon the phantasy of identification.

The child's instinctive tendency to hero worship is the best known illustration of the human proclivity to the phantasy of identification. The child loves to have a fairy

(1) Taft, J., Mental Hygiene Problems of Normal Adolescence, Mental Hygiene, pp. 750-51, Oct., 1921.

tale told again and again because, although he knows the story, as he hears it he goes through the process of identification and this brings him an emotional satisfaction which the parent often does not at all understand. He is the prince, and in his play as well as his dreams follows out the experiences suggested as the actor acts his part in the play. This identification has its dangerous possibilities. Not only may the child act characters or rehearse episodes that are physically or morally dangerous, but also he may develop identification as a means of fleeing from real life. This type of phantasy becomes the favorite for him and undermines the strength of the personality although the onlooker might suppose that the character was being strengthened by the idealism expressed in the make-believe. Our hospitals for the insane present many extreme forms of pathological identification. Some personage in history is chosen as a fulfillment of the inner cravings of the person and by the process of identification the patient lives in a phantastic world which makes it impossible for him to have any substantial contact with reality. It is interesting to find how numerous are the Napoleons, the Washingtons, the Lincolns, and particularly the Jehovah identifications amongst the insane.

In later life one occasionally finds the same process organized more thoroughly and representing an interpretation of experience which is known as mysticism. A mystic produces from his own inner life a fictitious world and then lives in it so that it absorbs all his interests. It becomes to him more real than what by others are regarded as the actual facts. The former reality seems unsubstantial. The beliefs and sentiments that are projected from the personality are woven together until they form a thoroughly welded system of ideas protected at every point from any contact with the world about, lest such contact prove in

the slightest degree destructive. Mysticism may show itself in various forms of experience, as for instance art or religion. The latter is perhaps the most common expression of mysticism.

Mysticism usually roots itself in the reaction of the mystic from his earlier mistakes. It thus becomes a process of atonement. He wipes out his feeling of reproach, the self-inflicted disapproval of his conduct or his unexpressed cravings, by the construction of symbolic experience which hides from him his unapproved purposes and at the same time removes the sense of reality with reference to his former conduct, expressed or imagined. Thus he rids himself of memories that he can not tolerate without utter loss of happiness. A strong character in his place would face the facts as they are, look at them squarely, force them aside and develop a new program of conduct. The mystic, however, is not strong enough to do this. He can neither get rid of the past nor carry it with him, so he wins the battle by transforming the entire personal life to a new realm in which he has dominance by the magic of his thinking process.

The mystic may be driven to his refuge more because of his need of protection than because of his reaction to early experience. Finding himself moving irresistibly toward that which is unacceptable to his inner self, he runs from the battleground into the territory where there are none of the temptations that beset him in ordinary life. Thus he protects himself from a division in his impulses but at the price of losing all contact with the world as it really is.

It must not be supposed that the mystic sits down and thinks out his problem and consciously makes a decision. The process is subtle and generally outside his consciousness. It is the outcome of the combination of

influences that center in his life. Instinct, suggestion, environmental pressure, physical vitality and habits—all play their part.

Asceticism is similar to mysticism in that it is either an atonement or a protection. It is a milder form of misinterpretation. Unable to maintain command of oneself in the midst of tempting circumstances, finding it impossible to handle with discretion and moderation the resources that furnish pleasure, the individual makes use of asceticism and colors the things desired until they repel, while in their place he chooses purposes that normally would be unattractive.

A young woman who had been accustomed to take pride in the simplicity of her life chanced to spend a year among her English cousins. Unwilling to remain aloof during their tea-drinking hours of social fellowship, she found she must not only have fellowship, but drink tea with her friends daily. Failure to partake in the tea-drinking ceremonial itself created a little barrier between the nonconformist and the other members of the group. The psychic element of good fellowship became linked with the physical act of tea-drinking so that soon the American had cast aside her Puritanical abhorrence of the use of anything in the nature of a stimulant and was drinking six cups of tea a day, rather more than her companions. After her return to America, our tea-drinker clung to her tea pot and her numerous daily cups of tea. One hot day in mid-summer, after a long bicycle trip over rough, hilly roads, she gratefully imbibed twelve cups of the friendly tea. Unable to approach even the semblance of sleep during the night that followed, she arose at three to watch the coming of dawn. A hard day's work followed, and in the afternoon Miss T fell asleep in the dentist's chair while having a particularly bad tooth filled.

Her earlier prejudice against tea forthwith returned, reinforced by a consciousness of the difficulty of moderation. In a short time, the erstwhile beloved beverage was anathema to Miss T, so that only with the greatest difficulty could she sip a quarter of a cupful, when it would have been uncomfortably conspicuous not to have done so. During the next ten years it is barely possible that she drank ten cupfuls, always with the greatest distaste. Then, having re-established within herself a feeling of control over her own minor actions, Miss T was once more able to admit to herself that she liked tea, while at the same time she preferred not to drink it often, lest its daily use furnish an excitant which she did not need. Thus, after exhibiting the reactions of the ascetic in persuading herself for so long a period of time that she disliked that which she felt she had used unwisely, Miss T finally returned to the plane of reality and faced the situation as it was, uncolored by her emotional bias. The mechanism which governed this trifling episode is characteristic of the procedure of the more fundamentally ascetic person in dealing with affairs of moment. Fearful of his own powers of self-control, or penitently regarding past lapses, he persuades himself that he dislikes that which he really craves, and thus obtains a measure of freedom, but at the price of discoloring life.

The ascetic often aspires to moral leadership. This is the natural consequence of the attention he receives. Thus, he uses what influence he has to bring others under the régime that he himself has accepted. He becomes a menace socially by his becoming identified in the minds of so many with idealistic behavior. The wholesome personality flees from the preachments of the ascetic although often feeling himself to be a worldling because he could not live up to the standards expected of him.

To prevent the child's developing either asceticism or mysticism wholesome habits of courage must be built into the life of the developing personality from the earliest years. Although it is impossible to prevent day-dreaming, the process itself can be steered toward reality until it is gradually left behind by the development of a sense of actual achievement. Asceticism and mysticism both illustrate the breaking down of wholesome preparation for life in the impressive period of childhood. Naturally the neurotic individual is most susceptible. The difference in the healthy-mindedness of children has to be recognized. The influence of suggestion and training is very great and can do all that is possible to protect even the neurotic child from such unwholesome reactions to life as are represented by asceticism and mysticism.

In protecting the child against the risks of phantasy we must not make the mistake of attempting to suppress the imagination. No mental faculty is of greater social service than imagination. Nothing ministers to happiness more than does vivid imagination. It is therefore unfortunate when any educational process decreases the original capacity of imagination in the effort to keep the child from the folly of phantasy.

The imagination shows itself even in science. The great discoveries of science have been largely the results of constructive imagination. All art is based upon a wholesome use of imagination and surely the American people need more art rather than less.

A question that always arises in this connection is, "How can imagination be distinguished from phantasy?" The test is a simple one. Imagination deals with life and shows toward the world of things and persons a thoroughly sympathetic and wholesome attitude. Phantasy, on the other hand, leads away from life. It clouds the world of per-

sons and things. In the place of things that are or have been or may be, it constructs false creations that are only emotionally attractive and appeal only to the person who is trying to shut himself away from reality. Phantasy has always the element of deceit. Ruskin somewhere says that the artificial flower can not be regarded as artistic since it deceives us and we are repelled when we come to know that we took it for what it was not. This illustrates the nature of phantasy. Its attraction is self-deception. It makes the dreamer accept subterfuges for achievement. Creative imagination provides a program for achievement. It leads to the doing of what has not been done and opens up an opportunity for originality. If interpretive imagination be distinguished from the constructive, its business is to reveal the meaning and values of human experience. Whether expressed in poetry or painting or affection it tries not to replace life but to penetrate life and portray it.

The normal child usually has enough imagination; it needs only direction. To destroy it is to be cruel, for from the life is taken a source of power and a source of happiness. It must not be allowed, however, to turn toward pathological revery. The life without imagination is barren. The life with great quantities of phantasy teems with noxious weeds that give out poison which sickens the personality.

Topics for Discussion

1. What is the basis of phantasy?
2. How does fear influence phantasy?
3. What are the benign elements in phantasy?
4. What are the forms of childhood phantasy?
5. How can education utilize the child's tendency to phantasy?
6. How can we detect day-dreaming in children?
7. What is rationalization?

8. How do inferiority experiences show themselves in phantasy?
9. What influence has adolescence upon phantasy?
10. How is mysticism related to phantasy?
11. What are the psychic motives of asceticism?
12. Does the ascetic make a good moral leader? A good social reformer?
13. What is the significance of the child's process of identification?

Topics for Reports

1. An analysis of cases of phantasy among children.
2. Savage magic as a form of phantasy.
3. The psychic dualism of Leonard's "The Lower Niger and its Tribes."
4. Phantasy as protection from hard circumstances.
5. Social radicalism as a form of phantasy.
6. The educational use of myth and fairy tale.
7. The influence of the study of science upon phantasy.
8. Reports of adolescent day-dreaming.
9. The social value of the mystic.
10. The characteristics of mysticism.
11. Historic illustrations of asceticism.
12. Symbol and ceremony among the insane.
13. Studies in the process of identification.

Supplementary Readings

Abraham, K., *Dreams and Myths,* Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series No. 15, New York, 1913.

Branford, V., *Myth, Magic and Vision,* Sociological Review, Vol. 15, pp. 104-19, April, 1923.

Brill, A. A., *Psychanalysis, Its Theory and Practical Application, chs. 2, 8,* W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia, 1913.

Coriat, I. H., *The Meaning of Dreams,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1915.

Freud, S., *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis, ch. 3,* Boni & Liveright, New York, 1920.

Frink, H. W., *Morbid Fears and Compulsions, ch. 3,* Moffat, Yard & Co., 1918.

Green, G. H., *Psychanalysis in the Classroom, chs. 1-5, and 10,* Putnam's, New York, 1922.

Hart, B., *The Psychology of Insanity, ch. 11,* Cambridge University Press, London, 1920.

Jones, E., *Papers on Psycho-Analysis, ch. 1,* Wm. Wood & Co., New York, 1916.

Jung, C. G., *Psychology of the Unconscious, ch. 2,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1916.

Leonard, A. G., *The Lower Niger and its Tribes, Sect. 4, ch. 1,* Macmillan, London, 1906.

Leuba, J. H., *A Modern Mystic,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 15, pp. 209-23, Oct., 1920.

Mecklin, J. M., *The Passing of the Saint,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 24, pp. 353-72, Jan. 1919.

Miller, H. C., *The New Psychology and the Teacher, chs. 3, 8,* Thomas Seltzer, New York, 1922.

Nicoll, M., *Dream Psychology,* Oxford University Press, London, 1920.

Robinson, J. H., *The Mind in the Making, ch. 2,* Harper Bros., New York, 1921.

Tansley, A. G., *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, ch. 15,* Allen & Unwin, London, 1920.

White, W. A., *Mechanisms of Character Formation, chs. 5, 6,* Macmillan, New York, 1916.

CHAPTER XVII

Authority and Individuality

In training the child for life it is necessary to recognize the existence of two opposite influences of great importance. One can be catalogued under the term authority, and the other under individuality. One has to do with the self; the other with society. It is not true, as has often been supposed, that the sense of self appears first and after a period of time there follows the idea of others. When the child is born, he is necessarily brought into a social environment and it is literally true that the *ego* world and the *alter* world appear together. The child slowly comes to think of himself as a person and as he develops this knowledge of himself he also realizes that other people about him are selves also.

While recognizing the opposition possible between the sphere of authority and the inner cravings that represent individuality, it would be a mistake to think of these two elements as in absolute opposition or as fundamentally separated. The self can not develop without contact with the outside world, including other people. The growth of the self represents a mutual relationship, an adjustment of inner disposition and outside stimulation. The influences represented by the self and those of the social group react upon one another from the beginning. At any time, however, in the development of the child, there may be a conflict between the outside authority and the inner self, making some sort of settlement necessary. As the child develops, he responds first to the one sphere of influence and then to the other, feeling often in consciousness the

stress which follows an unsatisfactory adjustment of the two sources of impulses.

As a result of this situation, the parent or teacher finds himself confronted with three different problems. The first represents the need of developing the child's self-expression. Fortunately in our schools child training has come to the point where we understand that the goal of self-expression is the most important of all the problems of education. The child must be drawn out until he becomes conscious that his inner self is obtaining the satisfaction of self-expression. This point of view doubtless is the most important contribution thus far made in the development of the science of education. To know the purpose of education, however, and to be efficient in its accomplishment represent two different things. The devising of means by which self-expression can be brought about is at present the chief task of educational investigation. There can not be permanent happiness for the individual nor safety for the group unless the ego expresses itself in ways that conform to social needs. This calls for a socializing of individuality which will not seem to the child a suppression of self, but an expression. Unless education accomplishes this second task, its success in its effort to provide the means of self-expression becomes positively menacing from the social viewpoint.

Complicated as the problem is, the recognition of a third obligation becomes necessary. The progress of society depends upon the use made of the natural tendencies of persons to vary in their conduct and thinking. The group-life therefore becomes socially stagnant if the individuality expressed is dominated by the social situation to such an extent that it merely echoes the life round about. This third task of education is particularly difficult because it so easily conflicts with the second. The child must be

led to recognize and respect social conditions and traditions. At the same time society must provide an opportunity for the self to make an individual reaction which may contain the germ of originality. The variations produced in the training process, when socialized and permitted expression, give to social welfare an indispensable basis for progress. Those who are responsible for child training must assume the task of weeding out from the conduct of children undesirable variations that represent egoistic or even pathological impulses, while protecting from the effect of the group's desire for uniformity those tendencies that later may lead to advancement in our social life.

Every group has within it the fear of change, which has the inevitable effect on the individual of developing habitual responses to circumstances and as a result making it difficult for him to break his habits and react in a novel way to new conditions. This fear of change is seen clearly in savage society where the more primitive nature of man is more openly expressed and social customs in harmony with it are built up. A great part of the training the savage child receives has for its real purpose the protection of the group from possible innovations due to the originality and independence of the individual as he develops. Even in savage society, however, individuality is not altogether suppressed. A spark of individuality or variation persists under the most adverse circumstances and later flames up. If this were not so, savage society would become so static as to lead to rapid degeneration and extinction since physical circumstances necessarily change and demand social conditions to some extent in harmony with the changed environment. There is, indeed, in savage society a relative stagnation which illustrates an excessive fear of change.

The suspicion the savage has with reference to a new way of doing things goes so far sometimes as to make it dangerous for one to show special aptitude along any line. The skillful person is likely to get the reputation of having the advantages of magic. His superior skill or good fortune is explained by witchcraft. Leonard tells us, for instance, that a fisherman who, while out in the boat with his comrade, has a remarkable catch lays up for himself stores of evil that may even endanger his life. Upon the return of the fishermen, the one disappointed with his luck is liable to hasten to the nearest witch doctor to discover from him why his friend has obtained a larger haul than himself. The witch doctor will see to it that the suspicion of the fisherman is given food to feed upon and thus the former friend becomes an active enemy who does his utmost to bring about the death of his fellow-worker.

The problem of adjusting authority and individuality must not be conceived of as merely the task of getting the young to conform to social regulations. The adult himself is a part of the problem. If youth furnishes one element, age furnishes the other. If one left to itself tends to the abandonment of prudence and the blind pursuance of egoistic activities, the other if too dominant forbids variation and progress. The struggle between the two parties is therefore, to an extent, inevitable. Each has something to contribute. Neither can be trusted to have full control. This adjustment also has to be made in the case of each developing individuality as it comes in contact with social coercions under the control for the most part of parents, teachers and relatives. The meaning of this ever-repeated contest has been beautifully expressed in Sir James Barrie's Rectorial Address, delivered at Saint Andrew's University, Scotland, May 3, 1922.

In savage society the process of social control is most clearly revealed. On the physical plane it represents the penalty of death, or pain through physical punishment. On the psychic and social level it is disgrace or separation. From early years the child is made to feel the force of these two different forms of social coercion. We find the bogey man prominent. By stirring up fear in innumerable forms the savage parent makes the child passive in his submission. For example, the child may be quieted by the admonition that some terrible monster will come to pick out his eyes if he makes a noise. He may be warned against disobedience by the story of the great serpent who came out of the sea and caught the boys who had done contrary to what was commanded. These coercive influences, built upon the instinct of fear, are constantly impressed upon the child, and it is not strange that he finally surrenders his individuality and attempts perfect conforming to what is expected of him. The savage child also is very sensitive to ridicule and public disgrace. This is made use of in his training and he is taught the risk of being outlawed, an experience which may mean for him greater suffering than physical death.

The modern adult runs the risk of using the same unwholesome process in his eagerness to bring the child in harmony with social convention. What he often demands is a docility which is contrary to the necessary self-expression of the developing child. He can use punishment of a physical sort, often by so doing undermining the courage and sympathy of the child. On the other hand the appeal may be to the child's wish to be in good standing with his associates. He may be driven by the fear of public ridicule to a slavish submission that in the end will prove disappointing to the parent, since it will represent merely the results of outside pressure. Even if the parent makes

no special effort to dominate the child, his very presence will, in cases where affection is normally strong, tend to make the child imitate him to a considerable extent. The child's attention is necessarily fixed upon the persons around him and especially father and mother. He soon discovers the advantage of having favorable reactions from his parents and gradually this becomes a motive of his conduct. In the child that is particularly sensitive this dominance of parental authority is particularly great.

The relationship involves suggestibility. The child naturally is apt to respond to indirect influence that stimulates tendencies of his personality leading to reactions which he supposes are entirely his own. With reference to suggestibility we find two extreme reactions. One child becomes the victim of suggestion to such an extent that he never develops, but carries through life childish tendencies and is easily swayed by his contact with dominant persons or even as a result of different forms of suggestion common to modern life such as skillful salesmanship or clever advertising. The other type of child develops into a rebel. He seeks every opportunity to react adversely. Sometimes this childhood habit extends into later life, becoming strengthened in the process. The result is an unsocial or even anti-social individual who at the least will be stubborn-minded and constantly antagonistic to social conventions.

The impression the home life makes upon the developing child is necessarily very great. The child looks to the parents for assistance in meeting his first difficulties. His first pleasures depend on the parents' coöperation. He lives in a world that from the first is largely conditioned by the personalities of the parents. He depends on them for food and warmth, the very possibility of life itself, during the early part of his life.

As he grows older his dependence grows steadily less as his own bodily functions and mental equipment develop. It is easy and pleasant for the parents to minister to the needs of the helpless baby. Their part becomes more difficult as the new individuality begins to assert itself and they must stand back and allow the little one to meet new situations for himself. Even the tiny baby not yet able to sit up alone takes great delight in the things he can do unassisted. He amuses himself by adding new gurglings and strange little vocal sounds to his repertoire. Once he has achieved a new sound, he repeats it many times with evident delight. The toys that are brought to his attention, the antics of his elders, can not awaken a pleasure half so keen. Aside from the things grown-ups do for him, their presence alone is sufficient to make him happy. Soon he finds that an audience intensifies his joy in his own activities and accomplishments.

By the time he is creeping it is easy to see how much he would rather do things for himself than have them done for him. Once a parent shares the baby's joy in his mastery of a new situation, he can find lesser expressions of the same satisfaction in the baby's commonest experiences. The baby is excited and impressed with his newly acquired ability to creep; in lesser degree he is made happy by finding that he can slide from end to end of his little bath tub, or turn about in his bath, or roll over in the water without help. The young mother usually shares the baby's sense of achievement in every new action, and profoundly appreciates the importance of his tiniest accomplishments.

A year or so later, when the youngster's new achievements crowd thick and fast about the busy mother, she is tempted to say frequently, "No, no, you mustn't do that," "Oh, don't touch that," "Leave that alone." If she gives

him too free a rein, he will run into one danger after another, besides making her much extra work, by upsetting things about the house. But his nature is more insistent than ever in its drive to new fields of action. He wants especially to do what he sees others do, and handle the tools they use instead of being kept to his toys. If the house is kept free of things he can hurt or be hurt by, the discipline he must meet is greatly simplified. If he has only to learn to avoid falling, to keep away from cooking and heating apparatus, and to come when he is called, he will learn these lessons with much greater sureness and quickness than if they were sandwiched in between admonitions to keep his fingers off things of beauty that appeal to him mightily, or the many little things he yearns to examine. Fortunately baby can not reach very high, and things he must not have can usually be kept out of his reach until the more fundamental lessons have been learned.

If instead of being forbidden to do the many things he wants to do and is physically able to do, such as pulling tempting articles from places just above his head that he may view them more clearly, the two-year-old is helped to do the things he wants to do but can't quite manage alone, he is well on the way to personal independence. When he wants to help he asks for it clearly by tone as well as word. Probably he wants to help mother mix the pudding or fold the clothes or make a bed. He surely wants to sweep and mop and scrub. It is a mistake for the mother to allow herself to think she is too busy to accept his help gratefully. He can save the time he takes from her busy day by picking up his toys and putting them away. But far more important is the sense of satisfaction the child gets from his activity. He learns that he can do what mother does, though not quite so well. Instead of struggling against the will of his mother because it opposes

his desire for a certain activity, he struggles against the inadequacy of his own muscles and nerves to cope with the situation in hand. He is pleased with even a small measure of success, but sees that there is a discrepancy between his aim and his result. When he succeeds in doing today that which he could not do yesterday, he wastes no time congratulating himself on his success, but goes after some farther goal.

Parents who respond to the child's earliest demands for independence are laying the foundation for the youth's normal assumption of personal responsibility. Accustomed to coming in contact with the operation of physical laws without the intervention of a protecting personality, he is the more ready to use his own judgment in regard to his conduct.

Those parents who thoughtlessly travel the road of short-sighted indulgence to the whims of their children or themselves may find when their boys and girls reach adolescence, or even the years of maturity, that at some snag by the wayside a child has been tripped and held up so that he can perhaps never attain full independence. If the parent helped the small child whenever he saw the little one encountering difficulties, not waiting for the child's call for help, and not having from the first cultivated the art of standing back until the baby had done his utmost unaided, the parent was training the child to be dependent. The dependent adult is recognized by all to be a person of mediocre possibilities, but it is not so commonly understood that the cause of the dependency of the normally endowed adult must be sought in the training of his earliest years.

As soon as the child reaches school age a new source of authority arises, which may conflict with that of the home, where again there may from the beginning have been a

split in authority between the parents, or a division of contradictory authority between parents and grandparents or other relatives. The adult is apt to conceive of the boy's or girl's problem in too simple terms. It is not merely a question with the child whether he shall be submissive to authority, but rather what authority he shall accept.

The boy, for instance, finds himself commanded by his parents who may or may not have the same point of view, his other relatives who are almost certain not to be fully sympathetic to the parents' program, the school authorities who necessarily represent a different purpose, officials of the law, the church and above all the society maintained by his playmates. This last organization, although simple in character, is particularly effective in working out its authority. The boy may willingly accept the control of the gang since this is closer to his own interests and understanding, even though by so doing he finds himself constantly in trouble with his parents, his relatives, his teachers, the code of the church and even the police. In such a medley of authority it is not strange that the boy is often puzzled and clings to the organization he best understands and most enjoys.

Suppose we trace out moral growth as it shows itself in the adolescent boy. We will take a boy who is just arriving at self-consciousness. In childhood he has not been a full-fledged moral being: his virtue has been mostly obedience to adult authority. He has been satisfied to accept his parents' desires as law and in the degree that he has done what was expected of him he has felt himself virtuous. Now, however, with the coming on of adolescence he begins to wonder about some of the things he has been doing, about others which have been prohibited. He occasionally discovers that the judgment of his parents is not acceptable

to other people of equal intelligence and equal standing in the community. He discovers a degree of variance between the teaching of his family, his school and his Sunday school. He is forced to reflect upon the conflicting attitudes and divergent instruction he encounters, and when he begins to ponder he becomes self-consciously moral. He now begins his effort to value his acts. He can no longer merely follow with blind acquiescence the commands of others.

When he tries to decide what are the socially valuable actions, the things that he ought to do, he finds an unexpected difficulty. His own desires appear to have replaced the earlier authority of others and to have taken over the determining of what things are socially proper. He does not know how to estimate the reliability of his own desires: he feels that they are prejudiced. If he follows his desires without suppression or criticism he soon finds himself in social disrepute, blamed by his associates for what is regarded as selfishness on his part. He may develop a questioning of his wishes that will make it difficult for him to trust his own judgments. In this case he attempts to find somewhere authority that will settle for him problems of right and wrong.

Suppose he turns to his parents. They tell him dogmatically what is right and what is wrong. Their judgments may be contrary to his own desires. He turns to other boys. He finds they have another ethical code, and he is still more in trouble. He goes to school and finds the teacher has something quite different also. Then he goes to church, and the church tells him what is right, but teaches him something different from what he wants, what his parents want, what the school wants, and he is perplexed. Maybe he will go out and do something that will get him in contact with the law, and the law very

harshly will say, "This is what we want; that is what you must not do." And the law may have a different attitude from the others.—And he thinks; he can not escape thinking.

All these different moral standards are in conflict and he awakens to this discovery: that one of the hardest things in all the world is finding out what is right. The rest of his life—if he is thoughtful and sensitive and does not give up the struggle and become dogmatic and narrow—he will still be wondering what is right. He will be asking other people to help him, and they may help him and they may make it harder for him. The things he can not be sure about will try his soul. There will be conflict between different interests, all of which seem good, but under circumstances that permit of no adjustment, no compromise. He must do one thing or the other.

There are, however, various moral levels; and some of the difficulty of the boy will be solved if he discovers that the valuations expressed in ideas of right and wrong change as one travels upward along the scale of moral evolution.

On the bottom, the least thoughtful and most insistent of all standards is the taboo. This is the forceful, uncritical, fear-driven and fear-expressing moral code. Abundant as we find it in savage life, it is never absent from the most highly civilized society. This code can not accept investigation lest it lose its power. It represents a fear attitude toward conduct, and those who are on this low level fiercely resent any attempt to criticize or scrutinize their code. All taboo conduct is automatic. In the taboo code every decision is final and for all time. Progress comes only from collision between conflicting taboos.

But a boy of intelligence discovers that these taboo attitudes are not acceptable to many people, who act upon

a higher level, represented by custom or the folkways. Here we have social habit coming down from previous times, representing to a large extent advantageous reactions, and always in danger of becoming unadapted to present circumstances. The adult forces the child into the atmosphere of custom and folkways, and as a result the child follows in the footsteps of his elders. The folkways operate upon individual desire in the same way as taboo although not with such strength.

In custom the element of fear is weaker; and there is also a slight possibility of choice. The customs have obtained their sway by competition and by selection. They are frequently remnants of the more useful of former taboos and are more changeable than the taboos. They come and they go. They permit a certain degree of modification, and the boy finds them more liberal, more sympathetic, more humane than taboo standards.

If the adolescent boy matures more fully he finds that there are people who have climbed to a higher level morally. They are reflective moralists. That means that they are persons who do not say that *a* or *b* or *c* or *d* is right in itself, for they have discovered that there are certain principles that stick in the moral realm, and so they say, "this principle is right," and when a concrete problem comes up for settlement they try to find out whether or not the desired solution is in harmony with the principle. Such a principle is our obligation to do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Many people there are that can never reach this level. The thoughtful, most discriminating people in moral behavior, however, always arrive at this level of reflective morality.

There is something higher, much higher, than this. It does not remove reflective morality, but goes into a higher realm. This is the destiny of morality-development and

some day morality will be largely lodged at this point. It is what we call scientific morals; it is an attempt to trace out calmly, without emotion, what are the causes of social values and what are the products of moral choices. Just as one finds that a certain chemical combination brings a certain result, so scientific morality tries to find out what follows from certain activities, judges their value, and seeks to retain or to renounce the activities according to their scientifically determined wholesomeness or unwholesomeness. This requires more courage and more thought and more discrimination than any other moral judgment and is therefore the rarest judgment in the moral world. We have had traces of it, however, in very early culture and in modern civilization we have it more and more.

Unless a social group is willing and able to become scientifically moral it can not hope to meet successfully the competition of a group that has the more exacting morality.[1] This is because morality is the most consequential element in conduct. Nothing else so colors or motivates conduct. If the mistakes of social behavior are moral in character they are the most injurious and also the most difficult to correct. Therefore a people loaded with erroneous principles of morality or wrong interpretations and applications of moral principles has a burden which sooner or later crushes social well-being.

For example consider the moral value of war. Does war under modern conditions of social behavior add to human happiness and progress? Does it increase or decrease the biological vitality of a people? Does it free or cloud judgment? What are its social consequences? When these questions and many others are answered positively in the spirit and by the methods of science, the

(1) Bristol, L. M., Social Adaptation, Preface.

rightness and wrongness of war, socially considered, is determined and its moral status fixed.

Is the drinking of alcohol as a beverage a moral question? Is it good or bad? The question at issue is, what is the statement of science? Have we scientific evidence that demonstrates that it is socially harmful? If science says drinking is socially injurious, its morality is settled. We then positively know that alcohol is not good for human nature. Therefore we must not have it. We must get rid of it. There can not be any compromise. The thing is not good.

Is slavery good? No, answers science, not even economically. There can be no discussion of it; there is no possibility of argument. It is not good, therefore we can not have it without social disaster.

These illustrations reveal with what definiteness and clearness a scientific statement regarding morals can be made if the evidence is scientifically conclusive.

We have at present great need of knowledge regarding moral conduct. Once we have this accumulation of demonstrated facts respecting problems of social conduct, we have the foundation for a morally wholesome society. There will still be need of the work of the teacher, the preacher, the legislator, the moralist, for knowledge is not habit. The social task of getting people to be willing to abide by the decisions of science in regard to conduct will still remain. Pressure will still need to be exerted upon the untrained or the socially indifferent individual. The first prerequisite of sound morals is correct judgments. Science will be forced to gather the material for such judgments since its effort to solve other social problems will force it more and more into the realm of morals.

Can science deal with the problems of morals? There appears to be no inherent difficulty. Conduct has social

consequence. Conduct can be defined and classified and its results determined. To be sure, a science of morals will necessitate a great deal of patient, painstaking effort on the part of men and women thoroughly equipped for the task of studying concrete moral behavior. In dealing with moral conduct science will face all the obstacles that it encounters whenever it deals with matters that involve human traditions and prejudices. It will need to keep within the province of demonstrated truth; it must not be tempted to dogmatize outside the area of fact to please those who do not appreciate the caution demanded of the investigator who by means of observation and verification attempts to solve a scientific problem.

An interesting illustration, familiar to those who know the ethical judgments of some rural New England communities, portrays conduct that needs to be taken from the sphere of emotion or tradition and treated in a rational manner. It reveals the spirit of scientific inquiry in regard to moral questions. A young woman brought up in a family that regards theater-going as wrong, having lived her early life in a community where her associates had the same idea as her parents regarding the theater, finds herself in the city with people who go frequently to the theater and invite her to go, too. She finds herself in conflict.[1] She wants to go. She can not see that her friends suffer from going. She can not, on the other hand, put aside her earlier prejudices against the theater. If she goes, believing she is doing wrongly, she will hurt herself morally. If she refuses to go, she will harden her prejudices and also suffer by missing social advantages she needs.

Suppose she discovers that the theater, like most things in life, has its good and its bad side. If she goes where

(1) Holt, E. B., The Freudian Wish, pp. 118-25.

she receives harmful suggestions she will be hurt. If, on the contrary, she goes to the theater wisely, she will get benefit. At once, going to the theater in itself will not be an ethical question. The moral question will be definite and concrete. Will this play hurt or help her? Will it strengthen or weaken her personality? This question calls for knowledge. She will attempt to get facts upon which to base her decision to go to this play, to stay away from that. Now she discriminates. She is attempting a scientific decision. The theater preys upon human weakness. It is willing to make good look wrong and bad look right, because it seeks profits with no regard to social consequences. It also powerfully teaches people to do justly and avoid wrong-doing. Sometimes the play mixes up the good and bad and caters to both those who seek evil and those who desire wholesome instruction. The young woman knows that some plays are thoroughly bad and malicious. She finds others that appear good, and to these she goes. Usually her judgment proves correct. Now her attitude toward the theater is no longer that of taboo, or custom or moral principles in the abstract; it is a matter of rational judgment based upon discrimination with reference to concrete conduct, and in some measure represents observation, analysis and verification of personal experience.

The level of moral conduct upon which we habitually act is not determined by the amount of experience we may have had. We do not climb up to the rational level by merely growing up. Many are on the taboo-level, the custom-level or are feebly attempting to apply principles to concrete behavior because they have not learned how to test their experiences. Environment, however favorable, does not necessarily produce the idea of discrimination and the habit of rational estimation of moral values. The

process is one of actually trying to test experience by its results.

Restrictions that are not made persuasive and compelling socially as a result of arguments based upon demonstrated facts, popularly distributed, act as repressions and irritate more than they control. They create the spirit of rebellion and at any opportunity the inner hostility will burst out. This is the weakness of reform by legislation. Unless the people generally are taught to see the advantage of the new law the reform is not likely to prove fruitful. The public attitude is apt to be that of reaction to repression. This explains the social reactions to the policies of Calvin, Savonarola, the Puritans, and others who have attempted to use force rather than education to hasten social progress. Such reformers can not wait to bring the people up to new standards of conduct. They attempt to drive action far ahead of knowledge. The crusader runs too harshly against human nature and the rebound is usually terrific. Such reformers hinder progress.

Society advances morally by increasing its knowledge of conduct and by distributing more widely this information in a way that gets it into the concrete decisions of life. The first process is one of scientific investigation, the second is that of education. Neither process can succeed by itself. We must have knowledge. We also must effectively teach it. Moral facts are valuable in the same sense as are other facts. They must be gathered from experience. They must be tested by experience. They must also be used to produce one kind of behavior and prevent another. Moral conduct is the highest type of social behavior. It conforms to causal law, nevertheless, and can be investigated, formulated and incorporated in instruction just as can every other type of behavior.

As social life develops, moral action becomes increasingly difficult. This does not mean that the primitive life of savages has no repression. As a matter of fact savages by means of tradition, custom, and taboo, especially, construct a system of social control which, in the sense of acting as a check upon impulsive desire, is a greater coercion than our own modern morality. But from the viewpoint of discrimination, as a process of evaluating conduct with reference to its social consequences, our moral code is getting more difficult all the time because life is becoming so complex. In simple society it is easy to decide what to do. The interests of the people are few and clearly recognized. The social obligations are equally definite and dogmatically handed on from generation to generation. With us, however, the most difficult part of morality is our necessity of discovering the ethical significance of conduct.

We are not able to lean upon authority. We are forced for the most part to decide for ourselves what is right. We of course have legislative acts and well-established principles to guide us. But most of our conduct falls outside the area regulated by legislation. Our having moral principles does not free us from the difficult task of discovering their application to concrete problems of conduct. We realize from experience how hard it is to know what is socially good and so we have to put our wits to work when we find ourselves face to face with any problem of conduct. We make our decisions with considerable doubt because we know that we have made mistakes in the past and we wonder whether we may not be in error again.

Thus education begins with the individual and ends with him. It uses the resources of a personality born into the world with an equipment unlike that of any other and

seeks not to destroy this individuality but to fulfill it. Education can not succeed when it standardizes its product and attempts to mould individuality into one form. It finds variation and it must develop variation.

Individuality has in the past been developed without any sense of social responsibility to such an extent as to make many feel that individuality in itself is unwholesome. The frontier life of the American people naturally led to an excessive individualism and the giving of too little attention to the values of coöperative relationship. From that excess we are apt in these days to recoil. Economic impulse in our own time has worked upon the multitude to build up a philosophy of life which represents excessive individualism. In this case we have the desire for wealth appearing both as a cause and as a result of extreme egoistic individualism. Individuality, thoroughly socialized, remains nevertheless the proper goal of democratic education. Democracy thrives upon variation in self-expression. It seeks an equality of opportunity which will enable each individual to attain his largest possible development. Its emphasis upon personal achievement must be tempered, however, by an insistence upon the necessity of obedience to social authority. Otherwise democracy degenerates into the mob and in the resultant anarchy dominant personalities develop oligarchies of control which coerce individual attainment under the cover of democratic disguise.

Topics for Discussion

1. What socializing influences begin to operate upon the child at birth?
2. What does the school do to develop the self?
3. How does the school socialize the self?
4. How may the school protect individual variation?
5. How do savages treat individual variation?

6. What are the causes of fear of social change?
7. How should the schools treat the suggestible child?
8. How may the schools protect against social suggestion and propaganda?
9. How should the home prepare the child for adult independence?
10. How may the schools develop self-control without bringing about loss of individuality?
11. To what different standards does the boy attempt to adjust himself?
12. What are the different levels of social control?
13. Can morality ever become scientific?
14. Why are social reforms so often followed by reaction?
15. Does democracy encourage individual variation?

Topics for Reports

1. Development of the idea of self-expression as a goal of education.
2. An educational program for the socialization of the child.
3. The value of the socialized recitation as a means of developing individuality.
4. Savage social control.
5. The present Youth Movement in education.
6. Science and morals.
7. Morality as a process of social adjustment.
8. An analysis of a rational moral decision.
9. The fear element in ultra conservatism.
10. The frontier influences in American social life.
11. Legislation as a process of social adjustment.
12. Socializing the teacher.
13. The tests of a progressive community.
14. Education for social progress.

Supplementary Readings

Chapin, F. S., *Introduction to the Study of Social Evolution, ch. 6,* Century Co., New York, 1913.

Cooley, C. H., *Social Organization, ch. 1,* Scribner's, New York, 1911.

Davis, W. M., *The Reasonableness of Science,* Scientific Monthly, Vol. 15, pp. 193-215, Sept., 1922.

Edman, I., *Human Traits and their Social Significance, chs. 7, 9, 15,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920.

Folsom, J. K., *The Social Psychology of Morality and its Bearing on Moral Education,* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 28, pp. 433-91, Jan., 1918.

Freeman, R. A., *Social Decay and Regeneration, ch. 14,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1921.

Giddings, F. H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society, ch. 11,* Macmillan, New York, 1922.

Holt, E. B., *The Freudian Wish, ch. 3,* Henry Holt, New York, 1915.

Jones, E., *Papers on Psycho-Analysis, chs. 19, 20,* Wm. Wood & Co., New York, 1916.

Kroeber, A. L., *Totem and Taboo: An Ethnologic Psychoanalysis,* American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 22, pp. 48-55, Jan., 1920.

Leonard, A. G., *The Lower Niger and its Tribes, Sect. 6, ch. 11,* Macmillan, London, 1906.

Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change, Part V, ch. 4,* B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1922.

Paton, S., *Human Behavior, ch. 13,* Scribner's, New York, 1921.

Patten, W., *The Grand Strategy of Evolution, ch. 10,* Badger, Boston, 1920.

Miller, H. C., *The New Psychology and the Teacher, chs. 2, 10,* Thomas Seltzer, New York, 1922.

Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology, ch. 34,* Century Co., New York, 1920.

Ward, L. F., *Glimpses of the Cosmos, pp. 361-78,* Putnam's, New York, 1913.

Williams, J. M., *Principles of Social Psychology, ch. 30,* Knopf, New York, 1922.

Hadfield, J. A., *Psychology and Morals,* McBride, New York, 1923.

CHAPTER XVIII

Abnormality and Social Conduct

One of the contributions of recent science has been the better understanding of what has in the past been known as abnormal conduct. Psychology, psychiatry and sociology in their effort to understand behavior have joined forces and as a result the sharp distinction that had been wrongly drawn between normality and abnormality has been erased. Though we still distinguish abnormal conduct from normal, we necessarily recognize that one shades into the other and the distinction has very little scientific significance. On the other hand it has become increasingly clear that the schools can not carry out their purposes unless they make provision for the differences in human personality. Children come into the world with varying capacities. It is now possible scientifically to measure these variations. By this process of mental testing the school can more accurately value and more adequately develop the equipment of the individual child. As a consequence it is useless for the schools to carry on their function without making use of these new sources of information. The Massachusetts Legislature in 1919 enacted the following law for the purpose of obtaining data regarding the mental capacity of the children retarded in the schools of the state.

An Act to Determine the Number of Children Retarded in Mental Development and to Provide for Their Instruction

Section I. The school committee of each city and town shall, within one year after the passage of this act, and annually thereafter, ascertain, under regulations prescribed by the board of

education and the director of the commission on mental diseases, the number of children three years or more retarded in mental development who are in attendance upon the public schools of its city or town, or who are of school age, and reside therein.

Section II. At the beginning of the school year of nineteen hundred and twenty, the school committee of each city and town in which there are ten or more children three years or more retarded shall establish special classes to give such children instruction adapted to their mental attainments, under regulations prescribed by the board of education.

General Acts, Chapter 277, approved July 1, 1919.

At a time when children of the lowest capacity were receiving considerable attention and little importance was being placed upon the variations of capacity in the so-called normal children, the terms "feeble-mindedness" and "mental deficiency" became fixed in popular thought. These terms are unfortunate because they carry with them suggestions that mark off the children of lowest capacity from the others and lead to a misinterpretation of the meaning of variation in intelligence. In carrying out the provision of the Massachusetts law an attempt is being made simply to discover the mental capacity of the child rather than to classify him as feeble-minded.

A great part of the difficulty that society has had from the feeble-minded has been due to its misinterpretation of the meaning of feeble-mindedness and its attempt to deal with persons of small mental capacity in the same manner that it has dealt with those of average capacity. The child with a low intelligence quotient can usually do well the school work that is within his capacity. What he can do, he does as satisfactorily as the average child. He can not, however, go beyond his natural endowment. The schools therefore have no choice. Either they must be content with giving the child of small intellectual equipment

work that is within his power and of real value to him in his life, or they must eliminate him from the school and leave him with no training at all for life. It is obvious that a child of this sort desperately needs such training as is within his power. It has not only been distinctly unfair but socially unfortunate that society has so largely ignored this kind of child just because he has not fitted well into the ordinary processes standardized for the child of average ability. The following diagram of Dr. Fernald's shows the characteristic working of low intelligence. The boy of fifteen years has a mental age of nine years and should be capable of doing fourth grade school work. Had he been equipped for life with the capacities of the average fifteen-year-old boy he would have been able to handle the first year of the high school. The school tests show that he was able to do fifth grade work in reading; fourth grade writing, arithmetic, spelling, geography and language.

In dealing with mental deficiency until recently an exaggeration has been made of the importance of heredity as a cause of feeble-mindedness. No one questions the large part that inheritance plays in the bringing of feeble-mindedness but nevertheless science has in the past been misled by the fact that the authorities who have investigated feeble-mindedness have been for the most part dealing with institutional cases. They have assumed that the institutional case was the typical one. Naturally the kind of child sent to the institution has been the most difficult to handle and the one most needing separation from family life. This has meant that families carrying feeble-minded strain have furnished the larger proportion of the institutional cases. Such families have been for the most part willing to give up their children. If not, their obvious failure to train the child satisfactorily has led the state to take the child from them.

Correlation of Chronological Mental and School Age.[1]

NAME DATE

Chronological age	I. Q.	Mental age	School grade for present chronological age	Reading	Arithmetic	Spelling	Writing	Geography	Language
16	.63	16	H.S.II						
15		15	H.S.I						
14		14	J.H.S.						
13		13	VIII						
12		12	VII						
11		11	VI						
10		10	V						
9		9	IV						
8		8	III						
7		7	II						
6		6	I						
5		5							
4		4							
3		3							
2		2							
1		1							

1 Fernald, W. E., Inauguration of Public School Mental Clinic, Mental Hygiene, Vol. 6, p. 477. July, 1922.

Necessarily therefore the institutional cases have been so predominantly the type representing feeble-mindedness through inheritance that investigation merely of institutional inmates has overemphasized heredity as a cause. This sort of low mentality is due to defective germ plasm which is transmitted according to the laws of heredity. It represents three different degrees of pathological inheritance. In the one the family strain is so notoriously defective as to attract in these days the attention of social agencies. These individuals form a little hamlet of individuals who intermarry and from generation to generation produce children who develop into alcoholics, prostitutes, criminals and the insane. Such homes are more and more being broken up by social agencies and through segregation the family strain is coming to an end. We have some very interesting studies of families of this sort, such as the Jukes, the Kallikaks, the Nams, the Pineys, and the Hill Folk.

We also have low mentality through inheritance where the family strain is not so pronouncedly defective but we find perhaps one of the parents or other near relatives suffering from feeble-mindedness. Another group represents family strains whose ancestral records occasionally show the appearance of feeble-minded individuals. Here there is a tendency toward defective germ plasm but it is not pronounced.

It is most unfortunate that common thought believes that all feeble-mindedness, or nearly all, is caused by defective germ plasm. Some authorities state that probably only half of our cases of low intelligence are due to inherited tendencies. This means that many of our individuals of low capacity are the result of environmental circumstances such as early diseases, especially such as attack the brain structure; accidents before, at, or after

birth; or other somatic influences caused by environmental circumstances. Birth injury is certainly a large cause of brain injury and therefore of mental deficiency.

In dealing with the problem of low intelligence it is necessary to recognize the undue stress that hitherto has been placed upon the social value of intelligence. It has already been noted that even in testing the intelligence the emotional state of the individual tested must be taken into account, since any unusual disturbance will lower the rating by impeding mental functions. The more we know about the so-called feeble-minded, the more we realize that the misconduct charged against those lacking average intelligence has not been merely a matter of limited capacity. Personality traits always count in every individual and particularly in the case of defectives.

It is essential that we keep in mind in dealing with abnormal conduct the significance of the individuality. The misconduct is not necessarily to be explained merely by feeble-mindedness or constitutional inferiority. The problem of conduct centers about personality itself. This has been very well stated by Dr. Nixon in the following words: "John Smith does not loaf around the pool rooms and commit petty larceny because he has an I. Q. of 75; the real explanation is that that complexity known as John Smith reacts differently from a normal individual. This is due to his individuality, not to his mental defect *per se* though this may be the most striking feature of his individuality. The same is true of individuals termed 'psychopathic personalities.' If a man's departure from the average were in the field of personality or character alone, he probably would not become dependent socially or economically. The reason that these people are misfits, failures, and criminals is because of abnormalities in more than one particular phase of their individualities; in other

words, the individual as an entity is abnormal in his reactions—not that there is merely a defect in his intellect, emotions, or character.''[1]

The community is of course necessarily standardized to the normality represented by the class of average intelligence. Nevertheless the mentally defective have often been brought into trouble by the community's exploitation of the defect. As a consequence we find from experience that individuals of low intelligence rating furnish many recruits to the ranks of the criminal and the prostitute. The boy who is treated as a social inferior by his comrades, who is necessarily marked in ordinary school activities as unlike the rest, who is constantly reminded, at every point, of his stupidity, stumbles perhaps upon an opportunity to steal and finds himself in this particular undertaking apparently successful. He at once finds an outlet for his deeply felt inferiority, and thievery becomes a compensation as well as a means of profit. He also, being as a rule abnormally susceptible to suggestion, is not only easily led into bad conduct but is exploited by those who take advantage of his lesser mind.

A feeble-minded youth, in a country town where lumber manufacturing is carried on, is the chief support of the large feeble-minded family of which he is a member. He is large and physically strong, patient and kindly. He earns a good wage in one of the local manufacturing plants where he does simple, muscular work, such as loading or unloading heavy logs of wood. Saturday night when he receives his pay, ''the boys'' think it smart to trade on his generosity, and week after week the hard-working fellow goes home empty-handed or with a mere fraction of his weekly wage.

(1) Nixon, C. E., The Study of Individuality, Mental Hygiene, Vol. 6, pp. 605-06, July, 1922.

In a nearby rural district lives a steady, hard-working man who is unusually well developed physically, but of somewhat less than average intelligence. He earns quite as much money as his neighbors, but his wife, whose physical and mental capacity diverges even more widely than his own, spends the greater part of the family income on cheap jewelry for which she pays an exorbitant price. As a result this family, including two feeble-minded children, and three younger ones who thus far seem ordinarily bright, lives in the direst poverty.

Prostitution, like the career of the criminal, offers compensation to those unprotected individuals of low intelligence who are sensitive to their position of inferiority. The girl who has in every way been made to realize her inferiority because of her lack of average mentality discovers that so far as sex is concerned, to some at least, she is attractive. In the association toward which she gravitates she is more sought after than the normal girl. As a result sex becomes to her a means of escape from her inferiority complex. She naturally also has less sense of the consequences of her misconduct and is much more likely to suffer from venereal disease or from illegitimacy because of her indifference to results or her inability to protect herself from untoward consequences. Therefore our prisons, jails and reformatories show a large percentage of the feeble-minded.

It is wrong to forget that this class of defectives represents a selection in which social position and economic circumstances play a large part. Many of the feeble-minded are reasonably protected by the family life into which they have come and do not show evil propensities in any way different from their associates and relatives.

In a very illuminating report the head social worker of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded states the

results of an investigation of ninety-seven boys, living in the community, who were formerly at the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded, to which they are still responsible. The maximum weekly wages earned by these different boys according to their mentality are as follows:

"Those under eight years mentally receive a maximum of $26.00
Those eight years mentally receive a maximum of 28.00
Those nine years mentally receive a maximum of 30.00
Those ten years mentally receive a maximum of 32.00
Those over ten years mentally receive a maximum of ..... 34.00"[1]

The larger number of these boys worked as laborers and helpers in factories. Some of them ran simple machines and did automatic work that did not require much intelligence. One, for example, with a mental age of six years and ten months, worked as laborer for a contractor, mixing lime and carrying a hod and earned $29.70 a week. In a family with a number of normal children he was the only one working and his money supported the family. He came to the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded at the age of twelve, a quick tempered and excitable imbecile. When he left the institution at eighteen he was quite obedient and to some extent able to control himself. He received at Waverly training for the only kind of work he was fitted to do and went directly from the school to the job.

The social attitudes of these well trained boys are particularly significant. They were carefully taught to work and as a result developed pride in their occupation. No matter how simple their job, they did it with painstaking

(1) Matthews, M. A., Institutionally Trained Male Defectives, Mental Hygiene, Vol. 6, p. 336, April, 1922.

care and were not troubled by monotony. As a rule they followed instructions explicitly. Their social behavior is particularly encouraging. Few of them craved excitement. Going to the movies once or twice a week and an occasional visit to the theater entirely satisfied them. They continued their interest in baseball, gymnasium work and other athletics, especially swimming. Their evenings were usually spent at home and in harmony with their institutional habits nine o'clock generally found them in bed. In the investigation of the behavior of these boys the most striking fact is their desire to be like others, to be thought of as "somebody." Coming as most of them did from poor homes, they had felt before entering Waverley the sense of inferiority that accompanies low intelligence unprotected by economic advantage. They reacted immediately to a little attention and recognition. As far as possible they kept their fellow workmen from knowing their previous history. Running through their social behavior is the persistent desire to be and act like others. Their social histories indicate that persons of low intelligence may under certain circumstances suffer as much from the emotional consequences of their variation, when unassisted, as from inherent defect.

The epileptic child often suffers the same social inferiority that has in times past been so frequent amongst the feeble-minded. When epilepsy prevents the child's continuing in school, a great handicap is added to the original influence of the disease. The epileptic child is naturally exceedingly sensitive and reacts occasionally in forms of misbehavior which are the psychic expressions of the physical disorder. He can be helped by favorable conditions and proper medical assistance and as a result of good treatment he may eventually return to school or finally enter successfully some vocation.

A boy of six was conspicuous at school for his mental brilliancy. He easily did the best work in a large class of bright third-graders, and had much leisure time at school, which he spent in reading fourth and fifth grade books. He could probably have done the fourth grade work without difficulty, had he been placed according to ability regardless of age. Rather small for his age and very slight, he was nevertheless the best baseball pitcher in the school, though several of the seventh and eighth grade boys were very good except in comparison with the little fellow. When he was not playing baseball, he was reading the newspaper accounts of the big league games, or studying out for himself fine points about the game. Already at six years B. was a personage in the community, but he was always extremely sensitive and usually very shy. In his seventh year, he developed epilepsy and had to leave school. Before the year was out he committed suicide in a most spectacular way.

A student of human conduct is continually impressed with the social significance of the group of persons suffering from psycho-neuroses. Although science has made great headway in understanding psycho-neuroses, they are particularly difficult to define. In regard both to their origin and their treatment there are at present various schools of thought. A serviceable classification divides psycho-neuroses into cases of neurasthenia, psychasthenia, hysteria, and anxiety neurosis. It is assumed that all four classes have no pronounced organic cause. The psychological factors involved are supposed to be largely responsible for the patient's situation.

Neurasthenics are, from the point of view of the layman, persons who imagine themselves ill when they are not. They complain of all sorts of symptoms, are easily fatigued and react excessively to stimulation.

Psychasthenia represents the condition of those who are constantly worrying and doubting, who can not meet with promptness the ordinary decisions of life, and who find themselves in difficulty when they try to think their problem through.

The hysterics suffer from numerous symptoms characteristic of various diseases, but without having evidence of the disease itself. Thus they have paralysis or blindness or speech defect although in every case the difficulty has a nervous origin.

The anxiety neurosis is the condition of chronic anxiety and fear which characterizes the emotional life of the patient and at any time may dominate consciousness.

The neurotic child is the father of the man in a very definite sense. As we dig into the childhood of the neurotic adult we discover in the earlier years tendencies leading to the result that finally became the climax of the development of the personality. The neurotic child is a problem in the home and in the school. He requires special attention for he frequently has a weak body and as a consequence has a tendency toward lack of confidence. On the other hand he is equally prone to selfishness and will take advantage of any opportunity given him to claim more than his reasonable share of the family or school attention. He therefore becomes a difficult problem since he can easily be made to suffer from too little attention or too much. He is intermittent in his emotional reactions, often very shy and sensitive, occasionally however acting in a way that suggests rudeness and even audacity. Probably training does as much for him as it ever accomplishes in dealing with human nature in the process of being made.

A very brilliant boy of ten, weak physically though of fairly healthy appearance, had acquired in the community the reputation of being a thoroughly bad and altogether

incomprehensible boy. The only child of a sickly widow, he held the center of the stage at home. At school and abroad, among his neighbors, he was either the central pivot for all eyes, or he moped, thoroughly miserable. He reveled in showing the superlative goodness of his nature. He dispensed liberality with a lavish hand, made enormous sacrifice eagerly, and basked in the supposed adulation and the certain surprised attention his behavior evoked. He wrote "poetry" which his mates thought good, and he thought remarkable. At the most solemn or important gathering he came forward with some astounding statement uttered in a portentous tone. When unable to command excited attention from all beholders by legitimate means, he devised heartless plans for bullying younger and more ingenious boys, tantalizing his victim by keeping himself hidden at a safe distance, perhaps in a tree-top, while he hurled taunts and insults with well-aimed stones at the little fellow he sought to terrorize. His attacks were directed chiefly against boys of stronger body than himself, even though they were not so old. When alone he would recite original or remembered poetry in a loud and sonorous voice, enjoying the sound of his voice at least as much as the poem itself. On the slightest provocation, or the miscarriage of one of his plans for doing mischief or getting attention in any other way, he would dissolve into tears accompanied perhaps by proclamations of his wickedness or abject grovellings of supposed repentance. Honeyed phrases and suave flattery were habitual with him. He treated superiors and strangers with extraordinary politeness which had the desired result of making him conspicuous among his fellows, and usually resulted in his being in turn treated with more than the usual amount of courtesy accorded to small school boys in a manufacturing community.

The most useful thing to keep in mind in dealing with the neurotic child is the fact that his difficulty represents the collision between the egoistic instinctive life and the social environment. He feels on the one side the urge of personal desire and on the other the pressure of the social environment. Having an exceedingly sensitive organism he reacts excessively to the stimulations of his environment, and especially does he react with fear. This underlying fear colors all his doings and makes it impossible for him to commit himself whole-heartedly to the ordinary tasks of life. He is always tempted to run away from reality and find refuge in the home, especially in the affection of his parents. Thus the neurotic child strikingly portrays the working of unconscious conflict. In so far as the child can be made to understand the meaning of his tendencies to flight and taught to deal effectively with actual conditions, he can be saved from the neurotic breakdown of adult life. Intelligent training may turn the neurotic into a very efficient and useful citizen who is able to overcome inherent weakness as a result of his careful preparation for life, his good habits and his sensible hygiene.

A group of individuals particularly difficult to define is known as the constitutional psychic inferiority type. They represent persons emotionally unable to deal adequately with life conditions. Frequently they have a high degree of intelligence. Emotionally unstable, however, they are unable to make good use of their intellectual capacity. Dr. John W. Visher has given a very serviceable definition of this peculiar type of person in the following statement.

"From the psychological standpoint, the constitutional psychopathic inferior presents marked inherent defects in volition and inhibition, together with a lowered threshold for and a disproportionate response to implicit and explicit

stimuli. There is also a lack of balance in the various hereditary and acquired reaction patterns and habit systems. The individual is unable to adjust to his inadequacies, either by means of experience or by the formation of compensatory modes of reaction. From the behavioristic standpoint, the condition is characterized by marked egotism, impulsiveness, poor judgment, nonconformity to ethical and social standards, and inability to adjust to or to profit by discipline."(1)

The constitutional psychopathic inferior can not hold with persistency any course or effort long enough to become successful. He naturally drifts about. In industry he becomes the type that moves from job to job, always dissatisfied and never efficient. The desire to move about frequently turns him into the hobo and vagabond. His lack of inhibition tends to make him guilty of crimes of passion. He easily becomes alcoholic, a drug addict or a sexual pervert. Never able to get any understanding of himself, he blames others for the consequences of his own misdoing. He is especially irritable when he suffers from his mistakes, and naturally puts the blame on his parents, associates or anyone who has had authority over him or upon whom he can by persuasion place responsibility. Egoistic and vain, he may become a fanatic, reformer or the most extreme sort of radical. He is particularly likely to develop eccentricities and adopt unreasonable beliefs. He has little conscience and is willing to lie or steal in order to accomplish his egoistic purposes. He often becomes a quack or charlatan. Public opinion makes little impression upon him. It is not surprising therefore to find that he does not profit from prison sentence and that he not only furnishes a large number of first admissions

(1) Visher, J. W., A Study in Constitutional Psychopathic Inferiority, Mental Hygiene, Vol. 6, p. 730, Oct., 1922.

to penitentiaries but forms a still larger proportion of recidivists.

The following case represents an unusually interesting pathological liar and swindler type. More than a decade ago a young man of winsome personality appeared in an eastern manufacturing city where he immediately won the confidence of scores of serious minded citizens, and took a prominent part in a series of meetings being held by a group of progressive thinkers. He was a fluent speaker of great personal magnetism and lively imagination, whose presence in the community was considered a great asset by his admirers. He became a frequent visitor at the home of a clergyman in a nearby village. He won the heart of the seven-year-old by his singing and playing of fanciful little songs; the high school girl drank in his tales of stealing jam when he was a boy in England, and vivid accounts of the doings of his mother and sister as militant suffragettes in London. The clergyman himself spent happy hours in discussing the problems of humanity with his brilliant guest. Even the clergyman's wife, a reserved Englishwoman who naturally distrusted loquacious strangers, fell under the spell cast by the meteoric newcomer. The clergyman plied him with his rarest and most treasured books, which he insisted on the Englishman's carrying to his lodgings that he might enjoy them at leisure. In less than a month the favorite was arrested in the midst of a fervent oration he was delivering before a large gathering in the city. He was wanted on charges of swindling numerous persons in several distant cities. He was an American, had no sister, and his mother had never been in England nor taken part in any suffragette demonstration. At the time the police intervened his bags were found packed ready for another flitting. In the bags were various articles more or less valuable, which his new

friends had lent him. He had also borrowed sums of money in varying amounts from nearly everyone who liked him. After the trial he was committed to a psychopathic institution.

The child who finds himself afflicted by constitutional inferiority has a task on his hands. Do his utmost, he can not accomplish his purposes. The unsound personality in spite of the most careful training shows its weakness and finally brings upon itself discomfort and even disgrace. It is not strange therefore that we find so many of these individuals committed to private asylums where they are protected by careful supervision from becoming a nuisance or injury to their relatives and friends. Doubtless science will more and more investigate these emotionally unstable personalities and will obtain a better insight into a defect which in the emotional sphere parallels the lack of intelligence found amongst the feeble-minded.

Everybody knows that people suffering from what in the past has been known as insanity behave irrationally and even in a way that is anti-social. Insanity represents a legal classification and merely denotes that a person suffering from a serious mental disease is legally irresponsible for his acts. Science is now trying to limit the use of the word *insanity* to the legal field and in its place establish the term *mental disease*. The mental disease represents the most serious form of abnormality and must be clearly distinguished from the types of abnormal conduct previously discussed. Conduct is tremendously influenced by serious mental disease. This fact is generally known, but in dealing with everyday experiences it is often forgotten. Our attention should be drawn to the unusual and peculiar irrational conduct of someone whose previous behavior we know to be in sharp contrast to this. In such cases we should be suspicious of mental disease

and if possible should bring about the examination of the sick individual by an expert. It is most important that it be generally known that mental disease is a real disease in the same sense as physical disease, and that we should take exactly the same attitude toward it. Indeed, as a rule, the sufferer is afflicted with both physical and mental disorder. In other words, the mental disorder has a physical origin. In any case it is not a problem for the layman to handle. It demands the expert attention of a specialist in mental disorders and no one else should try to deal with conduct of this sort.

Topics for Discussion

1. What is abnormal conduct?
2. What are the causes of feeble-mindedness?
3. What has led to the emphasis on the institutional type of the mentally deficient?
4. How have the feeble-minded been led into crime?
5. What influence has economic condition upon the behavior of the mentally deficient?
6. What are the social attitudes of the well-trained mentally deficient youth?
7. What social motives influence the conduct of the well-trained mentally deficient youth?
8. How should society treat the epileptic child?
9. What is meant by psycho-neurosis?
10. How does childhood experience influence the development of neurosis?
11. How should the teacher treat the neurotic child?
12. How can the school discover the neurotic child?
13. What is meant by the constitutional psychopathic inferior?

Topics for Reports

1. The types and causes of feeble-mindedness.
2. A proper school program for dealing with the feeble-minded.

3. The social history of feeble-minded individuals.
4. The history of the Jukes family.
5. The Kallikaks.
6. Feeble-mindedness and crime.
7. Feeble-mindedness and prostitutes.
8. The meaning of psycho-neurosis.
9. The Freudian theory of psycho-neurosis.
10. The Adlerian theory of psycho-neurosis.
11. Kempf's interpretation of psycho-neurosis.
12. The marks of the neurotic child.
13. What the school can do to prevent neurosis.
14. The constitutional psychopathic inferior.
15. The schools as an influence for emotional normality.

Supplementary Readings

Cady, V. M., *The Psychology and Pathology of Personality,* Journal of Delinquency, Vol. 7, pp. 225-48, Sept., 1922.

Fernald, G. G., *Character vs. Intelligence in Personality Studies,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 15, pp. 1-10, April, 1920.

Fernald, W. E., *Mental Hygiene,* Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Vol. 183, No. 27, Dec. 30, 1920.

Freud, S., *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis,* Boni & Liveright, New York, 1920.

Healy, W., *The Individual Delinquent, Book 2, ch. 19,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1915.

Healy W. and Healy, M. T., *Pathological Lying, Accusation and Swindling,* Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1915.

Holmes, S. J., *The Trend of the Race, ch. 3,* Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1921.

Hughes, W. H., *Some Responsibilities of the Public Schools in Developing Social Attitude,* Journal of Delinquency, Vol. 7, July, 1922.

Johnson, A. E., *Constitutional Psychic Inferiority,* American Journal of Psychiatry, Jan., 1923.

Matthews, M. A., *One Hundred Institutionally Trained Male Defectives in the Community Under Supervision,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 6, pp. 332-42, April, 1922.

May, J. V., *Mental Diseases, Part II, ch. 17,* Badger, Boston, 1922.

Paton, S., *Human Behavior, ch. 10,* Scribner's, New York, 1921.

Peck, M. W., *Psychopathic Personality: Report of a Case,* Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology, Vol. 17, pp. 184-93, July, 1922.

Sands, I. J. and Blanchard, P., *Abnormal Behavior, chs. 5-8,* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1923.

Tredgold, A. F., *Mental Deficiency,* William Wood & Co., New York, 1914.

Visher, J. W., *A Study in Constitutional Psychopathic Inferiority,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 6, pp. 729-45, Oct., 1922.

Watson, J. B., *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist, ch. 11,* Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1919.

White, W. A., *Foundations of Psychiatry, ch. 6,* Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series No. 32, Washington, D. C., 1921.

Gault, R. H., *Social Psychology, ch. 4,* Henry Holt, New York, 1923.

Mateer, F., *The Unstable Child,* Appleton, New York, 1924.

Karpman, B., *The Psychopathic Individual,* Mental Hygiene, Vol. 8, pp. 174-201, Jan., 1924.

The following collections of books are suggested for purchase.

For a Teacher's Library

Edman, I., Human Traits and their Social Significance, Houghton Mifflin Co.

Fielding, W. J., The Caveman Within Us, Dutton.

Green, G. H., Psychanalysis in the Classroom, Putnam.

Miller, H. C., The New Psychology and the Teacher, Seltzer.

Tansley, A. G., The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, Dodd, Mead & Co.

For a School Administration Library

Dewey, J., Human Nature and Conduct, Holt.

Green, G. H., Psychanalysis in the Classroom, Putnam.
McDougall, An Introduction to Social Psychology, Luce & Co.
Miller, H. C., The New Psychology and the Teacher, Seltzer.
Myerson, A., Foundations of Personality, Little, Brown & Co.
Paton, S., Human Behavior, Scribner's.
Sands, I. J. and Blanchard, P., Abnormal Behavior, Moffat, Yard & Co.
Tansley, A. G., The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, Dodd, Mead & Co.
Watson, J. B., Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist, Lippincott.
Williams, J. M., Social Psychology, Knopf.

FOR THE PARENT

Flügel, J. C., The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family, Internat'l Psycho-Analytical Press.
Groves, E. R., Moral Sanitation, Association Press.
Groves, G. H., and E. R., Wholesome Childhood, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924.
Holt, E. B., The Freudian Wish, Holt.
Humphrey, G., The Story of Man's Mind, Small, Maynard & Co.
Miller, H. C., The New Psychology and the Parent, Seltzer.
Paton, S., Signs of Sanity, Scribner's.
Tansley, A. G., The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, Dodd, Mead & Co.
White, W. A., Mental Hygiene of Childhood, Little, Brown & Co.

INDEX

Acquisition, 44
Activities of baby, 255 ff.
Adler, Alfred, 152, 218 ff.
Adolescence and self-assertion, 186
Adolescent conflicts, 72 ff.
Adrenalin, 10, 82
Ambitious fathers, 199
Anger and body states, 102 ff.
Anger, value of, 105 ff.
Animal training, 22
Arrest due to sex, 120
Asceticism, 244 ff.
Behavior of feebleminded, 279 ff.
Biology, 8 ff.
Boy's development, 194
Bristol, L. M., 263
Brontë, Charlotte, 210 ff.
Browning, Robert, 41
Bully, 166 ff.
Causes of conflict, 68 ff.
Child's emotional growth, 187 ff.
Child's need of love, 192 ff.
Child's self-expression, 63 ff.
Children's questions, 128
City child, 43 ff.
City drift, 144 ff.
Classification of instincts, 29
Classification of psycho-neuroses, 282 ff.
Class thinking, 145 ff.
Code of child, 259
Complex, 39 ff.
Conditioned Reflex, 22 ff.
Conflict, 106, 160 ff.
Consciousness of kind, 135
Conservatism, 251
Constitutional psycic inferiority type, 285 ff.
Convention, 140 ff.
Courage, 97 ff.
Courtship, 124
Criminal behavior, 12
Crisis, 57
Crowd, 136 ff.
Crowd and inferiority, 164
Crowd pugnacity, 113
Crushes, 213
Curiosity, 43
Custom, 262
Danger in mother loyalty, 198
Danger, teaching, 93 ff.
Day-dreaming, 52 ff., 233 ff.
Darwin, Charles, 77
Desire for property, 177 ff.
Development of girl, 204
Dewey, John, 50
Dissociation, 52 ff.
Doubt as to gregarious instinct, 132 ff.
Ductless glands, 10
Education, 59 ff.
Education for individuality, 146 ff.
Education and inhibition, 24 ff.
Education for parents, 3
Education as repression, 30 ff.
Egoism, 147

Envy, 114
Epileptic, 281 ff.
Exploitation of defectives, 278
Extrovert, 75
Fairy tales, 235 ff.
Family ambition, 179
Family collisions, 184 ff.
Family life, 28
Fancy, 231
Father complex, 40
Favorite child, 183 ff.
Fear in city, 96
Fear in country, 95 ff.
Fear dream, 88 ff.
Fear and imagination, 87
Fear in industry, 97
Fear and inhibition, 94 ff.
Feeblemindedness, 274
Fixation upon parent, 187
Fernald, W. E., 274
Freud, Sigmund, 46, 119, 192
Gall, F. J., 5
Gang loyalty, 200
Gatherings, 136
Gregarious animal life, 132
Hall, G. Stanley, 46
Harlow, R. V., 171
Hate, 113 ff.
Healy, William, 17, 66
Holidays, 145
Hunger, 25
Identification, 241 ff.
Imagination, value of, 246
Impulses, conflict of, 32
Impulses as raw material, 30
Individuality, 141 ff., 268 ff.
Individuality and authority, 250 ff.
Industry, 227
Inferiority complex, 26, 70, 94, 218 ff.
Insanity, 288 ff.
Instinct, 29 ff.
Instincts, conflict of, 36 ff.
Instincts, defined, 151
Interest in human conduct, 1
Intimate response, 157 ff.
Introvert, 75 ff.
James, William, 38, 55, 82, 161
Jarrett, S. P. and Blanchard, P., 14
Jealousy, 114 ff.
Jealousy of daughter, 205
Laziness in school children, 53 ff.
Legislation, 267
Leonard, A. G., 84 ff. 232
Luther, 224
Luxury in family life, 179 ff.
Marriage, 124 ff.
Masturbation, 121 ff.
Matthews, M. A., 280
Maxims, 7
McDougall, William, 42, 125, 138
Mental Disease, 288
Mental Hygiene, 3 ff.
Mental testing, Massachusetts law, 272 ff.
Memory, 13
Military drill, 51
Mother-fixation, 197
Mob, 138 ff., 143
Mysticism, 243 ff.
Negro secret societies, 165 ff.
Neurotic child, 283 ff.
Nixon, C. E., 277
Normal family life, 185
Obstacles and anger, 111 ff.
Only child, 182
Origin of Science, 1
Palmistry, 6

Panic, 139 ff.
Paton, S., 10
Pavlov, 22
Personality of feebleminded, 277 ff.
Phantasy, 39 ff.
Phrenology, 5 ff.
Physiology, 9 ff.
Place, F., 169
Play, 108
Psychiatry, 11 ff.
Psychology, 10 ff.
Psychology, popularity of, 11
Psycho-analytic method, 46
Psycho-neurotic fear, 85 ff.
Psychopathic tyranny, 172 ff.
Prestige, 107
Prestige through education, 180 ff.
Praise and blame, 135
Prince, Morton, 92
Progress, 57 ff.
Prostitution, 279
Pruett, L., 220, 225
Public education, 2
Punishment, 254 ff.
Radicals, 233
Rationalization, 42, 236 ff.
Recognition, 156 ff.
Re-education, 24
Reflex, 21 ff.
Reform, 57 ff.
Relief from suppression, 142 ff.
Repression, 39
Repression of anger, 103 ff.
Revery, 107 ff.
Revivals, 170
Revolutions, 56 ff.
Rivalry, 106 ff.
Re-education, 12
Savage control, 252 ff.
Science of morals, 263 ff.
Secret societies, 165
Security, 156
Self-esteem, 27
Self-expression, 251
Self-regarding attitudes, 152
Self-preservation, 25 ff.
Self-preservation defined, 151
Sex, 27 ff.
Sex and day-dreaming, 123
Sex education, 127 ff.
Sex and emotion, 120
Sex conflicts, 67 ff.
Sex and fear, 95
Sex instinct, 118 ff.
Sex perversions, 123
Sex sublimation, 122
Sickly child, 183
Sidis, B., 92, 172
Skeat and Blagden, 83
Social change, 33
Sociology, 12 ff.
Strength of sex, 119
Strikes, 168 ff.
Strivings for social experience, 160
Suicide of children, 109 ff.
Suggestion, 89 ff.
Suggestibility, 255
Suggestion and education, 147 ff.
Suggestion and inferiority, 224
Symbol, 227 ff.
Sympathy, 135 ff.
Taboo, 81
Taboo morality, 261
Taboo and sex, 122
Tansley, A. G., 38, 42
Tender emotion, 125 ff.
Tests, 14

Thomas, W. I., 156
Unconscious, 45 ff.
Utopias, 57
Venereal disease, 128
Visher, J. W., 286
War, 263
War and marriage, 214
Ward, Lester, 133 ff.
Walking, 49 ff.
Watson, J. B., 82, 103
Wealthy child, 181
Williamson, R. W., 99
Worry, 93

Date Due

MAR 1 2 '59			
MAR 1 4 '61			
	PRINTED	IN U. S. A.	

GTU Library
2400 Ridge Road
Berkeley, CA 94709
For renewals call (510) 649-2500
All items are subject to recall

LIBRARY RULES

1. **No book may** [illegible] **without being** [illegible] Borrowers are re[illegible] done to the volu[illegible] sion and are ex[illegible] losses.
2. (a) **Reserve Books** may be borrowed for a period of two hours. In case no call has been made in the interval, books may be renewed for a second two hours. (Where there is only one copy, book must be used in the library.)
   (b) Reserve books taken at 10 p.m. Mondays to Fridays are due at 9 a.m. the next morning. A reserve book taken from the library at 12 m. Saturday is due at 9 a.m. the following Monday.
3. Books not on reserve may be drawn from the library for two weeks and may be renewed once for the same period, except one-day books.
4. A fine of five cents a day will be charged on each book which is not returned according to the above rule.
5. **MAGAZINES** ARE **NOT** to be taken from the library.
6. Infringement of these rules may lead to withdrawal of library privileges.

GTU Library
3 2400 00717 9777

PU

PU23
G91

33882